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ABSTRACT

Drawing on the historical record and primary sources, this book portrays how Native American political confederacies of the colonial era operated and how their organization and underlying principles influenced the founding fathers of U.S. political institutions. A complementary theme of this book is the intense debate about Native American contributions to the U.S. Constitution and the way in which "established" histories and historical scholars have overlooked the evidence of these contributions. Chapters are arranged along a timeline and cover the following topics: (1) accounts by early English and French traders, missionaries, and settlers about Native political organization and attitudes toward liberty; (2) governance of Native American nations that bordered British colonies; (3) images of Native Americans in European popular culture and the works of major philosophers of the 17th and 18th century; (4) Roger Williams' use of Native precedents for political freedom and religious toleration; (5) ideas of federalism as expressed by Benjamin Franklin and the Iroquois leaders Canassatego and Hendrick (Tiyanoga); (6) images of Native America in popular art, 1763-76, and in the writings of Franklin, Jefferson, and Paine; (7) the Sons of Saint Tammany, a patriotic organization that combined European and Native American ideas and motifs; and (8) references to Native ideas in governance in the 19th and 20th centuries Contains many references in end-notes, illustrations, and an index. (SV)

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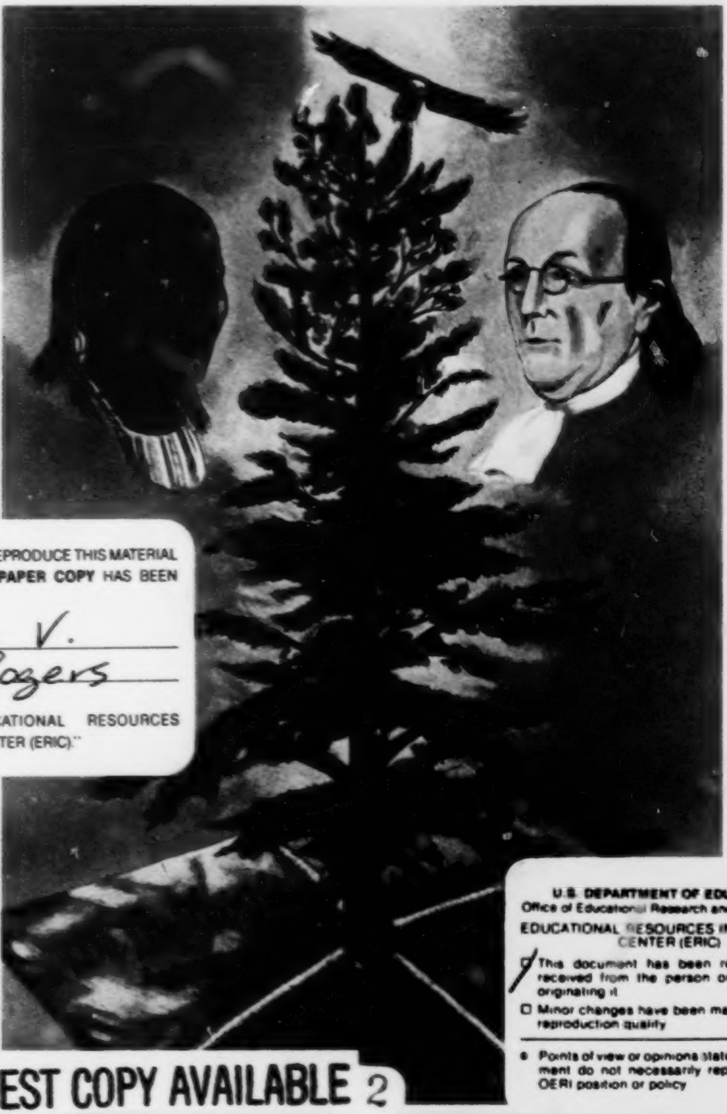
the Evolution of Democracy



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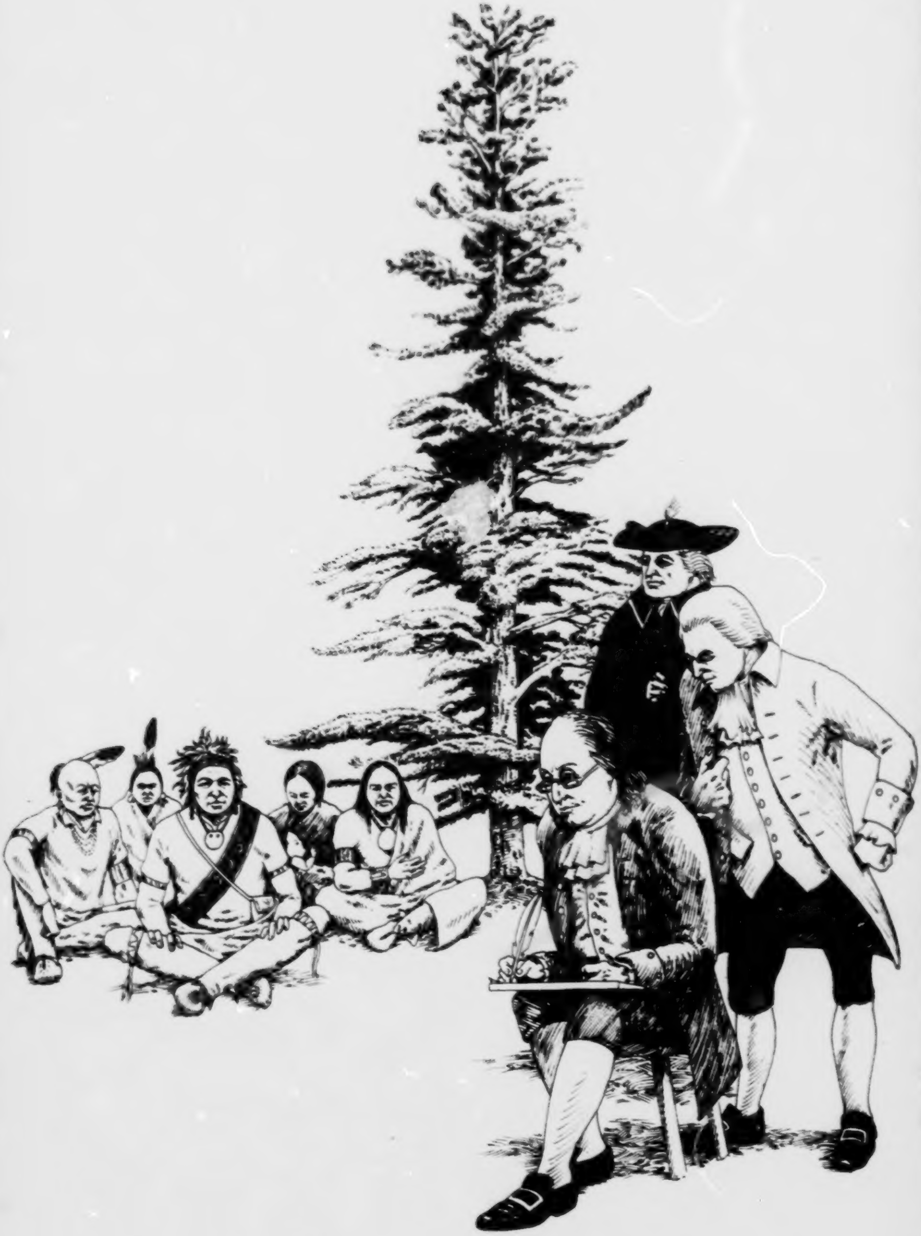

EXEMPLAR OF LIBERTY

Native America
and
the Evolution of Democracy

By

Donald A. Grinde, Jr.
Rupert Costo Professor of American Indian History
University of California, Riverside

and

Bruce E. Johansen
Professor of Communication
University of Nebraska at Omaha

Original artwork by **John Kahionhes Fadden**

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American Indian Studies Center
University of California
Los Angeles, California 90024-1548
USA

For our spouses,

Sarah Nez Grinde and Pat Keiffer

From *Tekonwatonti: Poems of War*

Molly Brant (1735–1795)

If I could scratch figures
I would show you fathers of the Thirteen Fires
how my many grandfathers struggled
to construct the Longhouse
with two doors and a central fire
which you entered
and took out a lit kindling;
how you took up the wisdom
of our great and wise Peacemaker
as you accepted our corn
caught trout from our rivers,
scalp-hair from our heads.
If you would listen with clean ears,
and I could scratch these sureties
into birch bark or rock
you would remember always
from where your freedoms and liberties
first captured your attention.

May your fire burn,
and allow our fire
to blaze as well . . .
sign of spirit,
symbol of survival,
our corn fields,
our white pine of peace,
eagle diligently watching
all the skies.

A people who do not remember . . .
rain which falls upon rock.

—Maurice Kenny

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Foreword

Writing history is too often the privilege of the winners. It is the luxury in which they indulge themselves in order to cover up their shortcomings and prevent further discussion of actual events and personalities. American history in particular has been a victim of this syndrome. American historians cling tenaciously to their myths; when thorough research begins to chip away at the edifice that they have imaginatively constructed, they make every effort to discredit the new information for fear their most cherished fictions will be discarded.

Some years ago, while working on one of Marlon Brando's perennial Indian movies, I recommended Thomas Marquis's *Keep the Last Bullet for Yourself*, an analysis of the Custer battle written by a man who had spent most of his adult life with the Northern Cheyennes. The thesis of the book is that Custer's cavalry, rather than being a well-trained and experienced military unit, was simply a ragtag group, inexperienced in Indian wars and prone to panic when faced with a stubborn Indian foe. Consequently, according to Marquis, when the Sioux and Cheyenne bravely charged the soldiers at the Little Big Horn, the troops panicked, fired a few shots at the Indians, and then turned their guns upon themselves; it seems they feared torture and disgrace should they fall into the hands of the Indians more than they feared death itself.

The historian and the scriptwriter to whom I had recommended the book exploded in fury when I described its contents. They adamantly refused to read any book that suggested that American troops were anything other than stalwart fighters in combat. Indeed, they still refused to read the book after I had discussed its thesis, and all semblance of goodwill among us vanished. Thereafter they viewed me with great suspicion and made it plain that certain topics were out-of-bounds when we discussed the proposed plot of the movie. Much the same reaction can be achieved if one points out, as a recent historian has done, that Davy Crockett spent most of his time at the Alamo hiding, or that when he was captured by the Mexicans, he insisted that he was an unfortunate tourist caught by accident in the Texans' revolt. And Frank Waters's book, *The Earp Brothers of Tombstone*, raised hackles all over the Southwest, because it suggested that the Earps were something less than countless movies have made them out to be.

History, it should be noted, is something less than an exact science. It may, in fact, be simply a collection of articles of secular faith, which cannot be disturbed without peril. Peril is a familiar companion to the authors of this study, because they have made a certain topic of American history a more exact statement of facts, and they have greatly disturbed articles of faith more than a century old. Since I appear episodically in this story, I will sketch out its basic narrative so that readers can judge for themselves the importance of what Grinde and Johansen have achieved.

Some years ago I was contacted by Bruce Johansen, who was at that time living and working in Seattle. He had a manuscript in which he argued, with some impressive documentation, that the Six Nations had had a profound influence on the thinking of the fathers of the United States Constitution. His manuscript had been systematically rejected by university presses, which are, incidentally, notoriously slanted toward maintaining the doctrines and views of the older establishment. His book, later published as *Forgotten Founders* in 1982, was regarded as the utmost of heresies. If he had suggested that Saint Paul was a Roman secret agent, he could not have received a colder reception. I suggested that he contact a small publisher in the New England area, Gambit, which, fortunately, was farsighted enough to publish the book.

Forgotten Founders covered some of the same ground that Donald Grinde, Jr. had in *The Iroquois and the Founding of the American Nation*, which was published several years earlier. And soon the combination of Johansen and Grinde began to exert a powerful influence on the Indian community nationally and among the younger generation of historians. It would not be too farfetched to say that they are on their way to becoming the Rodgers and Hammerstein of Indian history. The present volume will undoubtedly establish them as a formidable voice in correcting long-standing misinterpretations of the revolutionary period. Their most important contribution, in my opinion, and the area in which they are unquestionably ahead of everyone else, is in their insistence on using the primary source documents when discussing this period and its various movements. Their critics seem completely incapable of responding to them with anything approaching historical and documentary accuracy.

This book, *Exemplar of Liberty*, has not only set a high standard of scholarship but has also offered a model for future historical writing on the role and influence of American Indians in American history. The accomplishments of Indians and their actual place in the story of the United States have never been remotely touched by other historians. The major reason for this omission is that a substantial number of practicing historians simply do not know the source documents with sufficient precision to make sense of them; consequently, they spend a good deal of their time stealing footnotes and ideas from each other. I noticed this practice when I was researching unratified Indian treaties. Familiar footnotes, with no basis in documentary files or reality, began to appear in various texts. One needed only to check the earliest publication date and inquire—if the author was still alive—whether in fact he had found the document in question. More often than not, the footnote simply referred to a general file and not to the specific item it had been called on to support in the text. It is no wonder, then, that traditional American history is *not* a nonfiction enterprise.

We now desperately need other scholars and teams of scholars to dig into the tremendous archival resources available to us and bring out the real story of American Indians as contained in those records. When the facts replace the current historical fictions, it will be a time of great awakening for many people. Today we have an educated population who read voraciously and are not as easily led down the paths of a mystical past as previous generations were. Today's readers will like this book immensely because it provides—for the first time—a well-documented glimpse into the minds and lives of the constitutional founders, a view not previously available to anyone.

I am honored to be asked to write the foreword to this book. I wish that I were a generation younger so that I might take up the scholarly challenge posed by Grinde and Johansen and get into the archives to follow up on their magnificent achievement. But I can throw out the challenge to the younger generation of Indians to follow Grinde and Johansen and jump into the donnybrook now developing. It will be a wonderful and creative decade ahead as we build on the foundation they have laid here.

—**Vine Deloria, Jr.**
University of Colorado,
Boulder

Acknowledgments

As was the Peacemaker's collaborative effort with Hiawatha, this work has been a cooperative effort, not only between the authors but among many other people who share with us an interest in exploring history, specifically the impact of Native Americans on the stream of ideas that shaped American democratic thought.

For many centuries, Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) people have carried the ideas of peace and freedom in their oral history. Our thanks go to those who have helped us understand the symbolism of the Great Law and discover ways to seek its imagery in colonial and revolutionary-era archives. The Fadden family—Ray, John Kahionhes, and Steve—have been native culture-bearers for several generations. Their advice has always been good. We also thank Professor John Mohawk of the State University of New York, Buffalo, who shared his research on European philosophy and the early colonial periods with us.

Others who have generously shared their research, writing, and insights with us include Professor Bruce Burton of Castleton College, Vermont; Professor Jack Weatherford of Macalester College, Saint Paul; Dr. Sally Wagner, research affiliate in the Department of Women's Studies at the University of California, Davis; Professor Vine Deloria, Jr. of the University of Colorado, Boulder; Professor Duane Champagne, editor of the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* at the University of California, Los Angeles; and Professor Jose Barreiro, editor of *Northeast Indian Quarterly*. We are grateful to the faculty and staff of the American Indian Program at Cornell University, especially Jose Barreiro, Susan Dixon, and Ron LaFrance, who played key roles in the landmark conference in 1987 that brought scholars together with Haudenosaunee people on the Cornell campus. Similarly, we are indebted to Toni Truesdale of Philadelphia who organized two major conferences in her city, the first of which, in 1988, provided the authors of this volume an initial opportunity to meet, become friends, and discuss scholarly strategy. Her keen intellectual and artistic talents provided the crucible for our successful collaboration.

We would also like to thank the innumerable people at libraries and archives across the country who aided us in our research, including the staffs of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Rhode Island Historical Society, the New York Public Library, the libraries of Brown and Harvard Universities, as well as the New York State Museum, the

Pennsylvania Historical Society, the American Philosophical Society, the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Newberry Library in Chicago, the Public Archives of Canada, the National Archives, and the Library of Congress.

Since this study surveyed the papers of the founding fathers and many state and national documentary series to obtain references to Native American confederacies and political theory, we would be remiss if we did not acknowledge the editors' and archivists' work in making the basic data more accessible. Without their contribution, such rudimentary postmodernist studies as ours, which must sift through the pitchblende of colonial data to find revealing information about American Indians, would not have been possible. Through new computer technologies, our "mosaic" approach to the evidence was enhanced. We can only hope that future studies will be made easier when data can be examined more readily through the use of emerging technologies.

Special thanks are also given to the many American Indian people who supported and encouraged us in this intellectual odyssey. At times, it seemed that we were all alone, but they were always with us in our efforts to factor American Indian ideas into the basic governmental icons of American history. The bearers of American Indian oral history are especially important, since much of what they have maintained can now be documented in the written sources. In a sense, they are the ultimate historians—keeping alive the basic knowledge of the cultural encounter in spite of the shifting ideologies of race and nationality in the "civilized" world.

Thanks also are due the interlibrary loan service of the University of Nebraska at Omaha, as well as the computer education office, whose staffs invested many hours enabling cross-campus computer communication once we joined efforts. We would also like to acknowledge Dean Jack Newton of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Nebraska at Omaha, whose office approved a semester's professional leave for Professor Johansen in 1989, as well as the Department of Communication chairs Hugh Cowdin and Bob Carlson, who endured numerous scheduling headaches each semester for several years to allow released time for Professor Johansen's writing efforts. Professor Grinde would also like to thank the history and ethnic studies faculties at California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, and the University of California, Riverside, for their support and encouragement. Professor Johansen's many friends at El Centro de la Raza in Seattle also helped inspire his faith in a better future for all humankind.

We bemoan the loss of a great American Indian leader, Rupert Costo, who died before this manuscript was completed. For over forty years, his courageous leadership in reshaping the database and interpretation of American Indians in history has served as an example for all human beings dedicated to freedom and equality and their furtherance in the educational environment. During the course of his life, he took an active and supportive interest in the issues raised in this book. He took heart in his last days that new data and interpretations were emerging; we only wish he had lived to see the final product. Thanks are due as well to Rupert Costo's widow, Jeanette Henry Costo, for her encouragement and unyielding support in this endeavor. Her strength and dedication to quality in American Indian history through the American Indian Historical Society have been a constant source of inspiration to us. We also wish that the late Lovell Thompson of the publishing house Gambit were with us today to greet the publication of this work.

We would also like to thank all those scholars—such as William Starna, Elisabeth Tooker, and James Axtell—who have insisted, with straight faces, that the Iroquois and other native confederacies could not possibly have helped shape democracy in the United States and Europe; a lively debate always spurs on the exploration of history. Their rigorous criticism in newspapers, academic journals, and the broadcast media has not only served the interest of historical knowledge but also aided in sensitizing the public to the nature of this debate.

Even though this book is dedicated to our spouses, it would seem more appropriate to include them as authors, since they patiently encouraged us, in our darkest and most desperate hours, to go on. Research and writing are lonely pursuits, to which our spouses can testify, so we also thank them for the sacrifices of time that inevitably occur in such a process. Finally, we thank children such as Professor Grinde's son, Kee Nez Grinde, who provided us with the special joys of spiritual regeneration in parenting. A more complete knowledge of the past helps children understand themselves. Lest we forget, without children, human existence and history would cease.

It goes without saying that this book would not have been published in its present form without the hard work of Duane Champagne and Judith St. George of the American Indian Studies Center at the University of California, Los Angeles. To our editor, Laurel Kelly, the authors owe a great deal for her patience and her care in preparing the manuscript for publication.

Although this book had many readers and collaborators, in the final analysis, the authors are responsible for the interpretations advanced herein and for any errors that remain. It is our sincere hope that we have raised more questions than we have answered, since this is a new avenue of scholarly inquiry. We are only beginning to understand the dynamics of the cultural encounter between native and Euro-Americans. With new tools, methodologies, and insights, let us begin anew the challenge of understanding the history of all the peoples of America.

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of American Indian History
University of California, Riverside

Bruce E. Johansen
Professor of Communication
University of Nebraska at Omaha

17 April 1991

Introduction

I am an Indian.

—Robert Beverly, 1705[1]

I wish I were at perfect liberty, to portray . . . the course of political changes in this province. It would give you a great deal of the spirit and resolution of the people, and shew you, in a striking point of view, the deep roots of American Independence in all the colonies. But it is not prudent, to commit to writing such free speculations, in the present state of things.

Time which takes away the veil, may lay open the secret springs of this surprising revolution *(emphasis added).*

—John Adams to
Abigail Adams
10 July 1776[2]

Europe did not discover America, but America *was* quite a discovery for Europe. For roughly three centuries before the American Revolution, the ideas that made it possible were being discovered, nurtured, and embellished in the growing English and French colonies of North America, as images of America became a staple of European literature and philosophy. America provided a counterpoint for European convention and assumption. For Europe and Europeans in America, the New World became at once a fact and a fantasy, the real and the ideal.

To appreciate the way in which European eyes opened on the New World, we must take the phrase literally, with the excitement that is evoked in our own time by travel to the moon and planets. There was one electrifying difference, however; the voyagers of that time *knew* their new world was inhabited. They had only to look and learn, to drink in the bewildering and enchanting novelty of seeing it all for the first time.

Imagination often outran discovery. And what an arena for imagination America provided! Daniel Boorstin called it "a great reservoir of the unknown . . . until well into the nineteenth century."[3] To say that America helped shape Europe (and the converse) is a given; few today doubt the material gifts America provided Europe and the Europeans who became Americans. However, to assert that America and its native societies helped to fundamentally shape our ideas has become controversial, despite mounting evidence that the example of American Indian confederacies figured importantly in the evolution of democratic thought.

Our thesis has encountered some lively (and often acerbic) intellectual heavy weather during the fifteen years we have been pursuing these ideas.[4] While debate is good and necessary in defining the role of ideas in history, it can also cloud issues. We seek to add threads to the grand and varied tapestry of our history, not detract from the existing record. Nor do we imply that the use of American Indian political concepts and symbols during the United States' formative years means that all of those who used them completely understood the societies from which they often drew inspiration. The creators of these images often utilized "white man's Indians" (in the words of Robert F. Berkhofer);[5] they frequently selected only those aspects of native cultures that suited their own desires for liberty, perceiving them in ways that met their own needs at the time. This was the reality created by some of the architects of our early national identity. It shaped their beliefs and, consequently, their actions, whether or not they completely understood native political and cultural systems in a scientific sense.

Founders such as Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson were often in a position to understand significant portions of native experience, since they not only displayed a fascination with Indian societies, but also regularly encountered native people and their social and political systems. The American Revolution occurred only a few decades removed from a time when Euro-American settlement comprised but a few scattered islands in a virtual sea of native peoples. The colonists could not help but be shaped by native example, as they chose to see it.

In some ways our work builds on William Brandon's *New Worlds for Old: Reports from the New World and Their Effect on the Development of Social Thought in Europe, 1500–1800,*[6] for we examine, as Brandon does, interpretations of American liberty. However, while his primary focus was on Europe, we have concentrated on America; and, while he included an examination of Spanish exploration, we have not. Our analysis reaches into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, while Brandon's stopped at 1800. While we cross the Atlantic occasionally, our major focus has been on the use of native ideas by Americans of European descent. We also place more emphasis than Brandon did on the use of these ideas as agents of social and political change, especially the ideas that comprise a distinct "American character."

We believe that American history will not be complete until its indigenous aspects have been recognized and incorporated into the teaching of history. We have assembled here a mosaic of fact and opinion which indicates that the thrust of the contemporary debate should be to define the role Native American precedents deserve in the broader ambit of American history. Our work is not encyclopedic in that it does not attempt to repeat copiously documented accounts of our European heritage.

Jack Forbes has stated that too often our history has been overly Eurocentric, providing us with textbooks that assume that everything begins in Europe and "the history of Overseas Europeans is the central or only theme." In fact, although these scholars are also "Americans," they often ignore their "native" roots when they study the dynamics of the European colonial system. Such a viewpoint alienates American history not only from American Indians but also from the entire American public.[7]

"Overseas historians" seem to miss the evidence before their eyes; that during the Enlightenment, Europe took in new knowledge about the ordering of human affairs from all over the world. According to Julian Boyd, editor of Jefferson's papers and Franklin's Indian treaties,

> In the realm of political thought, the Indian probably had a greater influence over civilized society than any other savage race. . . . Marc Lescarbot, Gabriel Sagard, and the authors of the great Jesuit Relations began in the 16th and 17th centuries by describing Indian society and ended by praising it with a praise that carried an implied criticism of the European political system. From this it was an easy step to put in the mouth of an American savage a blunt criticism of civilized political organization.

From these materials, wrote Boyd a half-century ago,

> Montesquieu drew in part his inspiration for his *Spirit of Laws* and from the same sources emerged Rousseau's *Social Contract*. . . . [T]he French Revolution was but another link in the chain of influence that has stretched from the western frontiers to the capitals of Europe. . . . The Indian, therefore, was a factor of immense importance in the 18th century, far out of proportion to his actual numbers.[8]

For example, if colonial Americans were so infatuated with Europe, why did they go to the trouble of making a revolution to establish not only their own nation, but also their own identity? And why revolt in the name of "natural rights" (an idea exported by European savants), when they had the European philosophers' original source material right before their eyes? Our thesis holds that the character of American democracy evolved importantly (although, of course, not solely) from the examples provided by the American Indian confederacies that bordered the British colonies. These examples provided a reality, as well as an exercise for the imagination—and it is imagination, above all, that foments revolutions. In this book, we attempt to provide a picture of how these native confederacies operated, and how important architects of American institutions and ideals perceived them. We draw as much as we are able from the historical record per se, relaying as many original accounts as possible.

We attempt to trace both ideas and the events that dramatized them: life, liberty, and happiness (Declaration of Independence); government by reason and consent rather than coercion (Albany Plan and Articles of Confederation); religious toleration (and ultimately religious acceptance) instead of a state church; checks and balances; federalism (United States Constitution); and relative equality of property, equal rights before the law, and the thorny problem of creating a government that can rule equitably across a broad geographic expanse (Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution). Native America had a substantial role in shaping all these ideas, as well as the events that turned the colonies into a nation of states. In a way that may be difficult to understand from the vantage point of the late twentieth century, Native Americans were present at the conception of the United States. We owe part of our national soul to those American Indians and Euro-Americans who came before us.

As is the case with many histories, this book proceeds along a time line. Except for a few earlier premonitions, our historical study begins around 1600 with "Vox Americana," which summarizes early English and French traders', missionaries', and settlers' accounts of native political organization and attitudes toward liberty. "Perceptions of America's Native Democracies" continues this theme with brief descriptions of how Native American nations that bordered the British colonies ordered their affairs. "Natural Man in an Unnatural Land" examines the image of American Indian peoples in European popular culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; "Ennobling 'Savages'" considers the degree to which the same image was reflected in the works of major French and British philosophers of the time. "Errand in the Wilderness" takes the story back across the Atlantic for a detailed study of Roger Williams's use of native precedents for political freedom and religious toleration. "The White Roots Reach Out" concentrates on the idea of federalism as seen through the eyes of Benjamin Franklin and mid-eighteenth century leaders of the Iroquois such as Canassatego and Hendrick (Tiyanoga), and which was codified at the Albany Congress of 1754.

The revolutionary era begins with "Mohawks, Axes, and Taxes," an account of the ways in which the image of the Indian was reflected in propaganda and popular art between 1763 and 1776. "A New Chapter" compares the images of Native America as utilized by Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Paine. The timeline resumes once again in "An American Synthesis," which organizes events (between roughly 1775 and 1786) around the founding of the Sons of Saint Tammany, a patriotic organization succeeding the Sons of Liberty, which combined European and Native American ideas and motifs. "Kindling a New Grand Council Fire" continues the study into the constitutional period. "The Persistence of an Idea" traces references to native ideas in governance (particularly those of the Iroquois) through the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century and thus concludes our analysis.

American Indians were a symbol of a new emerging American identity in the eighteenth century. The use of the American Indian as a symbol of liberty and unity fostered an imagery that appeared in the American consciousness before, during, and after the American Revolution. The Boston Tea Party and Thomas Paine's natural rights arguments in *Common Sense* utilized this symbolic imagery quite effectively, and people on both sides of the Atlantic understood this message of liberty and freedom, regardless of their point of view in the struggle. In our nation's formative years, the free use of Native American symbols—such as the "Great Tree," "UNITE OR DIE," "chain of friendship," and "League of Friendship"—indicates that such imagery and symbolism were present in the popular mind and in the vocabulary of the leaders of the era. Covenant chain imagery was also used on early United States money and in the toasts of the Saint Tammany society.[9] In addition, Iroquois prophecy was used as a propaganda device in France.

To this day, the federal eagle clutching a bundle of arrows is emblazoned on the back of our one dollar bills, a symbol that is reminiscent of the meeting between the Twelve United Colonies and the Iroquois in 1775 (such imagery also recalls Section 57 of the Great Law of the Iroquois Confederacy).[10] The eagle perched atop the Tree of Peace clutching five arrows is still symbolic of the power and unity of the Iroquois Confederacy. Indeed to the Iroquois, the eagle represents "foresight, prudence, wisdom, and not the least, sovereignty."[11] The Saint

Tammany society recalled this eagle imagery less than a year before the Constitutional Convention.[12]

Most studies of the modern world hold that the first significant modern democracy was established in the United States as a result of the American Revolution. This assertion usually goes unchallenged in our history books; however, there is hard evidence that the League of the Iroquois, with its representative form of democracy, not only predated the United States Constitution but also influenced the evolution and development of the ideas that shaped that document, as well as other fundamental expressions of the American character.

There had been ancient forms of direct democracies in Europe's past, such as the Greek city-state of Athens, that used the whole corpus of citizens, but the success of such ventures was fleeting. These noble experiments declined and were replaced by republics and, eventually, empires. The Magna Charta and the struggle over parliamentary representation were attempts to create democratic principles within an authoritarian structure, but they failed to kindle freedom and equality.[13] Consequently, after the decline of Athens, there was no working democracy on European soil for almost two thousand years.

When Europeans immigrated to the Americas, they came from divine right monarchies or oligarchies calling themselves independent republics. Upon their arrival, they began to create local governmental structures, and they asked that their written charters be sanctioned by the companies and sovereigns that ruled over the colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. Geography certainly played a role in the evolution of home rule in America, since the main governing bodies of the colonies were an ocean away. From the beginning of European colonization, colonial legislative assemblies and written charters played an important part in forging a unique colonial identity while maintaining advantageous ties to the mother country.

Evidence of the intellectual transference of American Indian governmental theories to the American people is clearly present in the colonial, revolutionary, and early national records of the United States and in the oral and written traditions of the Iroquois. Sympathetic Euro-Americans, such as Benjamin Franklin and James Wilson, wanted to institute a society and government that preserved the "native rights" they had observed and experienced among Native American peoples. On a fundamental level, these Americans shared the belief of the Iroquois that people should be governed under a fixed corpus of laws. They reasoned that an unwritten constitution, such as the British model, was based on the assumption that government was benign; however, their experience taught them to be suspicious of monarchies and governmental power. Thus, the Americans followed a philosophy that government was potentially oppressive and needed to have its powers clearly defined and limited. In 1988, the circle of influence was finally completed. A group of British intellectuals proposed that the unwritten English constitution (a system of common and case law) be replaced by a written document. This group believes that the British should borrow heavily from the American model to insure the rights of citizens and regional governments by establishing judiciary independence and by placing checks on the British executive branch.[14] In essence, there is now a movement to reform the British government using the American Constitution as a model.

It is important to reiterate that the Albany Plan was extracted from the Great Law of the Iroquois and that, during ratification, the press noted that the plan had a strong "resemblance to the . . . new constitution."[15] With this statement in mind, it is easy to assert that the Iroquois had a profound impact on American notions about unity, territorial expansion, the origins of sovereignty in the people, and universal suffrage. John Adams, in his *Defence of the Constitutions of the Government of the United States of America*, believed that Indian governments provided an excellent example of the separation of the three branches of government, and, in 1787 when the framers met, he urged further study of American Indian governments. He believed that American Indian governments gave Americans great insight into the premonarchal past of Europe. Debates in the Constitutional Convention and James Wilson's notes recall American Indian concepts of sovereignty and unity. Editorial opinion during the Constitution Convention urged the usage of parts of the Iroquois Constitution. In other aspects, American Indian ideas held out a promise for a better democracy after the ratification of the Constitution in such areas as the abolition of slavery, women's rights, children's rights, and the rights of mother earth.[16] In a very real sense, our democracy is still unfolding, and the Iroquois and other American Indian peoples still have much to teach contemporary and future generations.

In modern America, there is a tendency to take unification for granted and focus on the rights and powers outlined in the Constitution. However, unity was of paramount importance in the minds of the founders and the American people, and problems of unity would plague Americans until after the Civil War. The toasts and concerns of the Sons of Saint Tammany demonstrated how the common people of Philadelphia and other parts of America felt about unity and their "native Constitutional American Liberties" before, during, and after the American Revolution.[17] Perusal of the historical record seems to indicate that the question today is not *whether* but *to what degree* the Native American confederacies influenced American concepts of unity.

Certainly, there is overwhelming evidence that, during the framing and ratification process of the United States Constitution, the Iroquois lectured to colonial and revolutionary leaders on the virtues of unity and served as an example of democracy for Europeans and colonial Americans.[18]

Many of the issues debated at the Constitutional Convention—such as slavery, territorial expansion, states' rights, and commerce—were manifestations of the larger problem of unity. The founders desired unity with local freedom and autonomy, but with strong diplomatic and military leadership, and they saw a working model in the Iroquois Confederacy. Franklin, Wilson, and John Rutledge and most of the American people clearly perceived that the kinship state of the Iroquois could operate over vast geographic expanses and yet maintain human freedoms. So they borrowed some of the political structures of the Iroquois to create a nation-state (based on geographic identity) that balanced the personal freedoms and federalism of the kinship state with the coercive powers of European political systems. Thus Iroquois political theory and imagery should take its rightful place in American intellectual history as one of the theoretical and philosophical roots of American democracy.

A fundamental purpose of this book is to let American Indian voices be heard on the issue of Iroquois political theory and its role in the development of American governmental structures. While the Iroquois people have consistently preserved these insights in their oral and written traditions, American society in general has chosen to ignore the impact of Iroquois and other Native American political theories. Someday, when the dominant society becomes more concerned about reciprocity and less concerned about superiority and domination, we may all be able to join hands and celebrate the diverse roots of the American democratic tradition without the blinders of indifference and cultural arrogance. If the political and philosophical gifts of the Iroquois can be brought to a popular level of awareness in the American mind, perhaps the bitterness, indifference, and paternalism towards American Indians would subside. Once this happens, the influence of American Indian people can be fully appreciated without the cultural myopia so prevalent in American society today.

In essence, American democracy is a synthesis of Native American and European political theories; there is an abundance of inferential and direct evidence to support the thesis that American government was influenced by Native American political concepts. The founders did not *copy* the British Constitution, the Magna Charta, the ancients, or the Iroquois Confederacy, but they did examine and use European and American Indian ideas in the creation of our American government. This was a time when the character of Native American societies was a subject of inquiry not only by the founders of the United States but also by important European philosophers, whose concepts of ''natural man'' and ''natural law'' were, in turn, exported to America. Our political traditions are not the product of any single heritage, but of a unique amalgam that is incomplete without an awareness of our American Indian roots.

With the decline of American liberalism in the 1970s, political scientists and theorists have turned to an examination of the non-Lockean ideas that have ''shaped major dimensions of American democratic experiences and concerns.'' They have realized that the clarification of non-Lockean elements of American democratic theory serves ''more the purposes of historical scholarship.'' Since these elements of non-Lockean thought have suggested areas needed for the ''renewal'' of the foundations of democratic liberalism, it is important to examine them to critique ''elitism, tacit consent, nonparticipatory citizenship, and the absence of virtue'' in modern democratic societies.[19]

If history is to be an honest record of our past, we must complete the picture. History is discovery through the debate of many voices, not just a few ''expert'' opinions. Out of this debate will grow a more complete, accurate, and honest understanding of the ideas that shaped the character of America. We hope that the evidence and argument we present here will contribute to such an understanding.

1

VOX AMERICANA

Colonial characterizations of native liberty

Every king hath his council, and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation. . . . [N]othing is undertaken, be it war, peace, the selling of land or traffick, without advising with them; and which is more, with the young men also. . . . The kings . . . move by the breath of their people. It is the Indian custom to deliberate. . . . I have never seen more natural sagacity.[1]

—William Penn to the
Society of Free Traders,
16 August 1683

To some extent, the founders of the United States knew more about the ways in which American Indians governed themselves than we do. The perceptions of the founders were selective and subject to embellishment, but they had the advantage of observing native societies in their full flower. We have only their written recollections, along with surviving shreds of the native peoples' own oral histories, which have been analyzed by contemporary scholars, novelists, and movie makers who, like all of us, look at the past through filters of time and predisposition.

We do know that America's indigenous cultures had been forming, evolving, and dissolving for many thousands of years before permanent European settlements began in North America, but we do not know for how long. Modern archaeology keeps pushing back the date it finds acceptable for the beginnings of native occupancy in the Americas. A few years ago, a five-figure date was considered risky; speculation now flirts with a quarter million years, reminding us once again that prehistory holds much yet to be discovered. Perhaps, in time, the consensus of scholarship may converge with the origin stories of many Indian nations (as well as the speculations of Thomas Jefferson), which trace the birth of their people to American soil, rather than Asia.

It took some time for the English and Spanish shepherds of the soul to realize that America's native peoples were, indeed, fit for the "yoke of Christianity." Spanish priests argued over whether Indians had souls at the same time as the conquistadors lived off the bounty of native civilizations. Cortez admired the splendor of the Aztecs before destroying it. Similarly, it took decades for secular authorities to realize that the native peoples were not simply wild men and women of the woods but citizens of organized societies that provided a structure for their social, political, and economic affairs.

The American Indian was so tightly intertwined with images of liberty in the colonists' minds, however, that both the Puritan and Jamestown colonists passed statutes against "Indianizing." As early as 1612, the Jamestown colony prescribed the death penalty for "any man or woman [who] shall runne away from the Colonie, to [Powhatan], or any Weroance else whatsoever."[2] The Puritans typically envisaged the Indians as half-human children of the devil, yet had few qualms about borrowing native foods, building styles, and other lifeways—even to a point where a significant portion of them had forsaken colonial settlements to live with native people. "Such is the influence of this Wildernes on inhabitants who were born here that it inclines them to an Indian way of life," Daniel Leeds wrote in his Almanack for 1700.[3] In 1642, the Connecticut General Court set a penalty of three years in the workhouse for any colonist caught "forsaking godly society." The rationale for the law was that "divers persons depart from amongst us, and take up their abode with the Indians in a profane course of life."[4]

Thomas Morton, the nettlesome hedonist who so antagonized the Puritan authorities of the soul from his trading post at Merry Mount, left no doubt about whose company he preferred: "The one Christian, the other Infidels . . . I found [the Indians] most full of humanity and more friendly than the other."[5] His trading post was a transcultural nexus, where Morton found that the native people, "[a]ccording to human reason onely guided by the light of nature," led "the more happy and freer life, being voyde of care, which torments the minds of so many Christians."[6] Morton's characterization of American Indian societies echoed those of Montaigne or Rousseau (whether or not he had read them) or the first-hand accounts of many other travelers opening their eyes on America for the first time. Morton had found his Canaan (calling Europe "Sodom"), his real-life example of "Plato's Commonwealth," which was "so much practiced by these people."[7]

Such was the appeal of native societies and the images Euro-Americans developed about them. They were ideas that turned the heads of those sent into the wilderness to convert the "heathens." The Enlightenment matured as the English immigrants to America came to know the native peoples of the New World. Without their example, concepts of "natural law" might never have evolved as they did. Certainly, the Enlightenment would have worn a very different face had Europeans not "discovered" America's native peoples.

Coming from societies based on hierarchy, early European explorers and settlers in America sought kings and queens and princes, and, for a time, they believed they had found those they sought. However, they quickly began to sense a difference; in most native societies, the people they called "kings" had few trappings that distinguished them from the people they "ruled." Only rarely did they sit at the top of a class hierarchy with the pomp of European rulers. More importantly, Indian "kings" usually did not rule; rather, they led, by mechanisms of consensus and public opinion that Europeans often found admirable.

During the almost one hundred seventy years between the first enduring English settlement in North America and the American Revolution, the colonists' perceptions of their native neighbors evolved from the Puritans' devil-man, through the autonomous "Noble Savage," to a belief that the native peoples lived in confederations governed by natural law so subtle, so nearly invisible, as to be an attractive alternative to monarchy's overbearing hand. Increasingly, the native societies became a counterpoint to the European order, in the view of transplanted Europeans, including some of the United States' most influential founders, as they became more dissatisfied with the European status quo. They found, in existing native polities, the values that the seminal European documents of the time celebrated in theoretical abstraction—life, liberty, happiness, and a model of government by consensus, under natural rights, with relative equality of property. The fact that native peoples in America were able to govern themselves in this way provided advocates of alternatives to monarchy with a practical model for a philosophy of government based on the rights of the individual, which they believed had worked, did work, and would work for them in America.

This is not to say the new Americans sought to replicate native polities in colonial societies descended from European models. They were too practical to believe that a society steeped in European cultural traditions could be turned on its head so swiftly and easily. They chose instead to borrow and, therefore, created a new order that included aspects of both worlds.

This process of cultural amalgamation began nearly as soon as the first colonists landed. For example, the Pilgrims (who had established their first settlement in an abandoned native town) intended to begin their colony on a Platonic model by sowing common land, but abandoned the experiment after their first winter, which only a third of them survived. Instead, they adopted the native form of land ownership that allotted property to families. According to Bruce A. Burton, this model of land ownership had no precedent in feudal Europe and was adopted by the Pilgrims with at least one major change—under native auspices, land was allocated through the female line; the Pilgrims followed their own, male-centered family system. According to Burton, this system of land tenure, regardless of its sexual politics, also helped shape the Pilgrims' governmental system. He asserts that the first "town meetings" in New England also were a combination of Native American and European traditions.[8]

The colonists' lives were pervaded by contact with native peoples to a degree that now may be difficult to comprehend (see figure 1). Especially in its early years, colonization was limited to a few, widely dispersed, isolated pockets of land in a thin ribbon along the eastern seaboard. In the mid-eighteenth century, the frontier ran from a few miles west of Boston, through Albany, to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, or roughly to the western edge of today's eastern urban areas. The new Americans looked inland across a continent that they already knew to be many times the size of England, France, and Holland, combined, but without any certainty of how far their new homeland extended. Maps from this time did not accurately chart the distance between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. A few Spanish and French trappers and explorers had left their footprints in this vast expanse of land, but at least ninety percent of North America was still the exclusive homeland of many hundreds of native peoples.

People of that time were conditioned by their perceptions of time and space, just as we are now. At a time when the fastest method of communication and transportation was by wind-powered sail, it took six weeks for King George III to learn that the thirteen newly united colonies had posted a Declaration of Independence. By traveling the overland trails laid by the Indians, a person on a fresh horse could cover as much ground in a day as a late-twentieth century automobile covers in twenty minutes, or a jet aircraft in three minutes. Today news

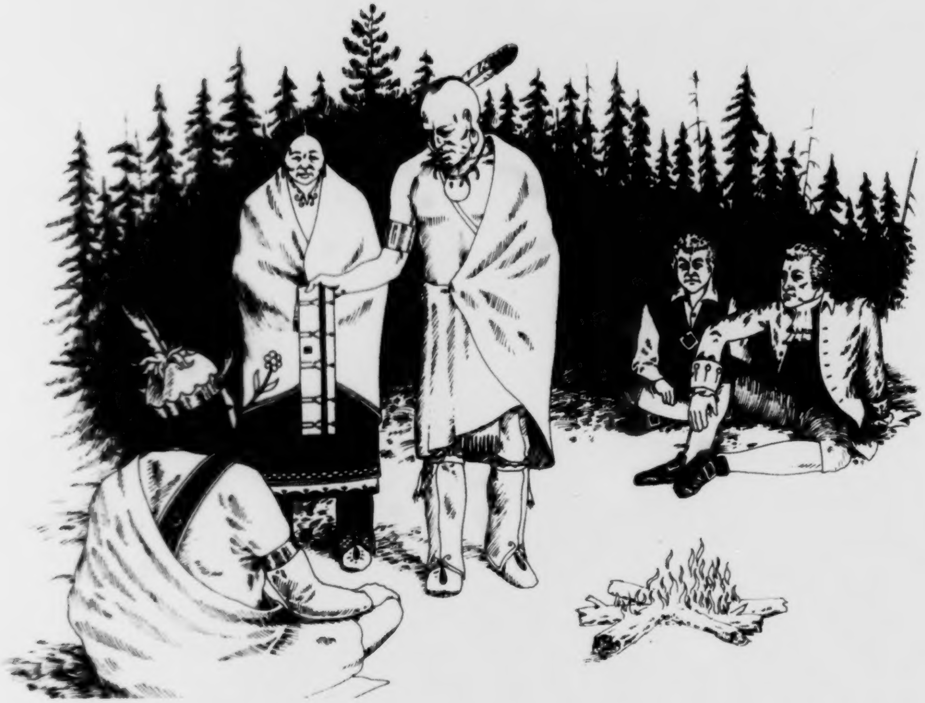


Figure 1. Early colonists often observed native societies. By John Kahionhes Fadden.

travels around the world in seconds; two centuries ago the most vital news traveled at the speed of wind-driven sail, or a rider atop a horse.

While hostile encounters between European immigrants and native peoples cost uncounted lives during those nearly one hundred seventy years of initial settlement, day-to-day life was usually peaceful. History, like the daily news, tends to accentuate or telescope conflict, so we are left with a record that overstates the role of war. In fact, on a daily basis, the immigrants and native peoples traded, socialized, and concluded treaties more often than they went to war. Eyes, awakened by the American example, looked westward with a degree of curiosity, respect, and even awe, drinking in the ways of peoples who knew America best. The writings of the immigrants were pervaded with the feeling that the native peoples already held the keys to ways of ordering society that the Europeans were only beginning to understand.

Beginning in the seventeenth century, the historical record intimated the existence and power of Native American confederacies in northeastern North America. Early English, French, and Dutch accounts, viewed as a whole, provided a clear indication that the Iroquois and surrounding American Indian nations had a governmental structure and an alliance system.

In 1612, John Smith of Virginia visited the Susquehannocks in the northern regions of the Chesapeake Bay. There he encountered the use of wampum as well as indications of the existence of the Iroquois confederacy. During the course of their meeting, the Susquehannocks draped "a chaine of white beads (waighing [*sic*] at least 6 or 7 pound)" around Smith's neck while reciting an "oration of love." They implored Smith to defend them against the "Atquanahucke, Massawomecke and other people" who "inhabit the river of Cannida (Saint Lawrence River)," explaining that these Indians had received "their hatchets . . . by trade" with the French. It was also noted that the Susquehannocks knew little of "the territories of Powhatan" other "than his name, and he" had little knowledge "of them."[9]

Along the length of the Atlantic seaboard, a sense developed among some colonists very early that the American Indians lived in a series of confederacies. Alexander Whitaker, known as the "Cambridge Apostle to Virginia," described the people of the Powhatan Confederacy near Jamestown the decade after initial settlement.

> There is civil government among them which they strictly observe, and show thereby that the Law of Nature dwelleth in them. For they have a rude kind of commonwealth, and rough government; wherein they both honor and obey their kings, parents, and governors, both greater

> and less; they observe the limits on their own possessions, and encroach not on their neighbors' dwellings. Murder is a capital crime scarce heard of amongst them. Adultry is most severely punished.[10]

It appears that the French explorer, Samuel de Champlain, discerned the existence of the Iroquois League at the start of the seventeenth century.[11] Dutch accounts from the 1620s also contained some vague insights into the nature of the Iroquois League. According to Nicolaes Van Wassenaer, the Iroquois war chiefs

> live almost all equally free. In each village, indeed, is found a person who is somewhat above the others and commands absolutely when there is war and when they are gathered from all the villages to go to war. But the fight once ended, his authority ceases.[12]

In describing how the Iroquois defended themselves, Van Wassenaer used some of their own imagery.

> On further inquiry it is found that they have a chief in time of war, named a *Sacjama* [sachem], but above him is a greater *Sacjama* (pointing to Heaven) who rules the sun and the moon, when they wage war against each other, they fortify their tribe or nation with pallisades, serving them for a fort, and rally out the one against the other. They have a tree in the centre, on which they place sentinels to observe the enemy and discharge arrows.[13]

Van Wassanaer may have had the antiquity of the Iroquois League in mind when he stated that

> there is something that is in repute among them. What they have is transmitted to them by tradition, from ancestor to ancestor. They say that mention was made to their forefathers many thousands of moons ago, of good and evil spirits, to whose honor, it is supposed they burn fires or sacrifices.[14]

The first specific reference to the Iroquois League, per se, appeared in a 1635 Dutch account entitled *The Journal of Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert*. Van den Bogaert wrote of the "Kanosoni" or the "extended House" while visiting the Oneidas (see figure 2); he also provided good descriptions of the fabric of Iroquois life, including the use of wampum, social life, town construction, and customs.[15] Another Dutch account in 1650 mentioned the use of wampum as a form of money.[16]

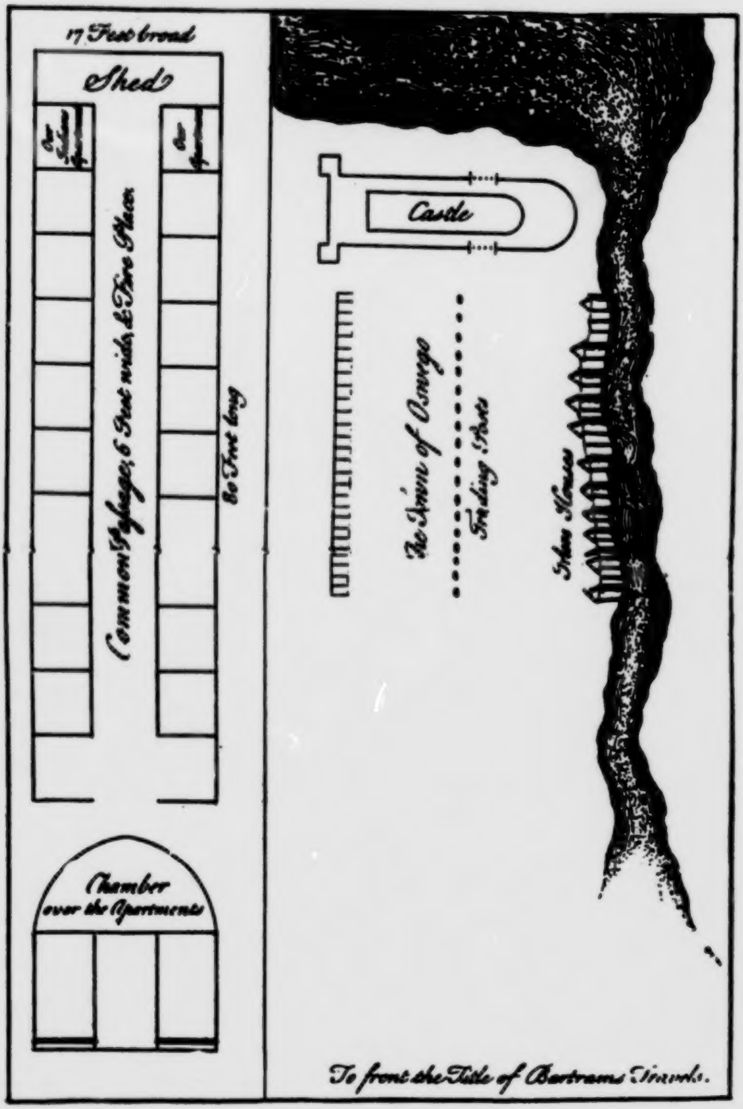

17 Feet broad
Shed
Common Passage 6 Feet wide & Fire Places
80 Feet long
Chamber over the Apartments
Castle
The Town of Oswego
Trading Posts
Indian Houses
To front the Title of Bartrams Travels.

FIGURE 2. John Bartram's diagram of an Iroquois longhouse and the town of Oswego. From John Bartram, *Travels in Pensilvania and Canada* (London: Whiston and White, 1751).

French accounts of the Iroquois Confederacy in the 1640s provided more elaborate descriptions of the League of the Iroquois. A 1647 Jesuit account termed the Iroquois "five nations." It noted that the Iroquois "held a council" at Onondaga "to commence negotiations for peace," and that once negotiations had begun, "there was nothing but holding of councils." Finally, the Jesuit report described an ambassador to the Iroquois who was "loaded with seven great Percelain collars [wampum belts] each of which consisted of three or four thousand beads (these are pearls and, as it were, the diamonds of the country). These collars were new presents" from the Onondagas "to strengthen the peace."[17]

In 1654 Peter Esprit Radisson implied the unity of the Iroquois when he stated that "great distance" caused a "difference in their speech" but they understood "one another."[18] In the same year the Jesuits reported a Mohawk chief's description of the structure and antiquity of the Iroquois League. The chief emphatically stated that "the five Iroquois Nations, compose but one cabin; we maintain but one fire; and we have from time immemorial [*de tout temps*], dwelt under one and the same roof." The Jesuit chronicler added, "In fact, from the earliest times [*de tout temps*] these five Iroquois Nations have been called . . . 'the completed cabin' as if to express that they constituted but one family."[19] Several decades later, as the Jesuits got to know the Iroquois better, Father Millett was given the "ancient name" of one of the "first founders of the Iroquois republic," one who had been a "member of the Council, and was regarded from all antiquity [*de tout anciennete*] as having been one of the mainstays of the nation."[20]

By 1667 the Jesuits were able to provide an even more accurate account of the Iroquois Confederacy's nature, including a description of Grand Council meetings at Onnontae [Onondaga].

> [At] the center of all the Iroquois Nations . . . [a] States-general . . . is held, [every year] to settle the differences that may have arisen among them in the course of the year. . . . Their policy is very wise . . . since their preservation depends upon their union, and since it is hardly possible that among young people—there should not happen some event capable of causing a rupture, and disuniting their minds—for these reasons, they hold every year a general assembly. . . . [There,] deputies from the different Nations are present . . . [in order to] make their complaints and receive the necessary satisfaction in mutual gifts.[21]

The Jesuit account assures us that, by this means, "they maintain a good understanding of one another."[22]

Seventeenth-century observers sometimes called native leaders "kings," then tended to contradict themselves by observing that leaders in native confederacies did not rule by fiat and cherished peace. Even before coming to America, William Penn wrote a letter to the Iroquois that reinforced Quaker and Iroquois ideas of "peace and justice" so that "we may live friendly together as becomes the workmanship of the great God."[23]

In 1683 Penn commented on the Indians he knew in a letter to the "Society of Free Traders."

> Every king hath his council, and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation. . . . [N]othing is undertaken, be it war, peace, the selling of land or traffick, without advising with them; and which is more, with the young men also. . . . The kings . . . move by the breath of their people. It is the Indian custom to deliberate. . . . I have never seen more natural sagacity.[23]

Penn characterized the native confederacies of eastern America as political societies with "sachemships" inherited through the female side. In addition to the above description of tribal councils, Penn briefly noted some aspects of the Iroquois Condolence Council, which decreed that when someone killed a woman, "they pay double" the wampum, since "she breeds children which men cannot."[25] While in Pennsylvania, Penn "made himself endeared to the Indians," as he "walked with them, sat with them on the ground, and ate . . . their roasted acorns and hom[i]ny."[26]

In February 1697, after almost twenty years of experience with native confederacies in America, Penn formulated a "Plan for the Union of the Colonies of America." He hoped that the plan would be "usefull to . . . one anothers peace and safety with universall concurrence."[27] This remarkable plan for union proposed that each colony send two delegates to a central place to discuss commerce and defense, and it could have been a product of Penn's interactions with the Iroquois and other Indians. In any case, we certainly see a reflection of Penn's work a half century later in the Albany Plan of Union of 1754, which was proposed by another noted Pennsylvanian, Benjamin Franklin. There is little doubt that Franklin was influenced by American Indian confederacies (a theme we develop in chapter 6, "The White Roots Reach Out").

By the end of the seventeenth century, knowledge of the imagery and ideas of the Iroquois Confederacy became more detailed and prevalent in English, French, Dutch, and Swedish accounts.[28] Along with this development of information about the Iroquois and other Eastern Indians, a critique of European systems of government evolved. Europeans now had examples of working alternatives to their autocratic governmental structures. Democratic republics did not just exist in fragmentary accounts of the ancient Greeks, but also in extensive accounts of the manners of living American Indians.

In *An Historical and Geographical Account of Pennsilvania and West New Jersey,* published in 1698, Gabriel Thomas referred to Indian political leaders as "monarchs," but made it clear that they did not govern absolutely. "Their Princes are Powerful," he said, "yet do nothing without the Concurrence of their Senate, or Councils."[29] In 1701 John Lawson produced a similar analysis in his history of the Carolinas. Indian "kings" received advice from "war captains and counsellors," according to Lawson, "who gather to debate issues very deliberately . . . with all the integrity imaginable, never looking toward their own interest before the Publick Good. After every man has given his Opinion, that which has the most voices, or, in summing up, is found the most reasonable, they . . . put into execution."[30]

One may argue that Thomas and Lawson were using native societies to justify England's "Glorious Revolution" by making the natives more English than they actually were. However, such a line of reasoning points up one of the central intellectual dynamics of the period—that is, native societies were being used, on both sides of the Atlantic, to justify notions that alternatives to European monarchy were possible, feasible, and justifiable. The image of the native was being shaped by Europeans and their descendants in America to suit the political and economic needs of those who sought alternatives to Europe's status quo.

Many such accounts were doubtless simplified and idealized, but the literature offers too many examples for there to have been a conspiracy of imaginative fabrication. These accounts illustrated, in the flesh, the theories of Locke and other European philosophers; more specifically, that among those living under natural law, sovereignty rests with the people, whose leaders must use public opinion and consensus, not force, to maintain social order. Since the title *king* did not fittingly describe people who led by consensus and by molding public opinion instead of coercing belief and action, the English had no other generally accepted way to describe such a leader except by using the Indians' own words such as *sachem,* or *sagamore.*

In 1698, the Onondaga sachem Sadeganaktie provided just such an example when he explained the dynamics of the Iroquois Tree of Peace.

> [N]ow all of us sit under the shadow of that great Tree, which is full of Leaves, and whose roots and branches extend not only to the Places and Houses where we reside, but also to the utmost limits of our great

> King's dominion of this Continent of America, which Tree is now become a Tree of Welfare and Peace, and our living under it for the time to come will make us enjoy more ease, and live with greater advantage than we have done for several years past.[31]

An English account from the late seventeenth century recorded the following Iroquois description of their imagery:

> [W]e all live under that pleasant Tree of Love, which extends unto all the brethren, and overshadows us all, and preserves us from that scorching heat of strife and Enmity.[32]

Observations of Indian governments all along the Atlantic seaboard of North America showed a remarkable similarity. Everywhere they looked, immigrant observers found confederacies of native nations, loosely governed by the kind of respect for individual liberty that, in Europe, existed only in theory or as a relic of a distant Golden Age. Indian languages, customs, and material artifacts varied widely, but their form of government, perhaps best characterized as counselor democracy, seemed to exist everywhere.

Some of the most glowing reports of Indian societal harmony came from missionaries who had been dispatched into the wilderness with the assumption that civilized society was impossible without knowledge of the Gospel. Many a missionary, returning from this "errand in the wilderness," brought back accounts of government without coercion, religion without churches, and charity without knowledge of Christ. *An Extract from the Journals of Reverend Mr. Bolzius,* published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1734, contained this description of Indian governance:

> Their Kings do not reign with absolute power, but give Counsel. The King proposes to the Old Men, and the Old Men to the Young Men; after which it is put in Execution. . . . When a King is not fit for his office, they choose another. The wisest is their King; who doth not distinguish himself from others by Clothes. . . . If a present is made to the King, he doth not keep it, but he distributes it among all, and keeps nothing for himself.[33]

Bolzius also penned the following observation about the native peoples he had encountered. "They love equality. . . . They account laboring and working for hire to be slavery; therefore, they will not work for Gain."[34]

Without authority to command, native leaders had to become very good at persuasion. In his *History of the Five Nations,* Cadwallader

Colden attributed the Iroquois' skill at oratory to "a perfect republican government." Colden described the intense study that the Iroquois applied to the arts of oral persuasion and to the acquisition of "grace and manner" before councils of their peers. According to Colden, Iroquois speakers became "very nice in the turn of their expressions," having, "it seems, a certain *urbanitas*, or Atticism, in their language to which the common ears are ever sensible, though only their great speakers ever attain it."[35] Robert Rogers, a frontier soldier who studied Indian war tactics and later turned to writing for the press and stage, said that native children were introduced very early into "public councils," a practice which produced young adults "with a composed and manly air," who were inspired "to emulation" and made "bold and enterprising."[36]

Euro-American (and Native American) observers often compared Indian councils to public meetings in Europe and, not uncommonly, found the Indians' in better order. As early as 1635 a disgusted Indian's complaint that the members of the Virginia Assembly all talked at once was recorded in the *Relation of Maryland*. Comparing European-style assemblies to those he knew, the native informant stated, "Wee doe not so in our Match-comaco [councils]."[37] Tench Tilghman, who served several years as George Washington's secretary during the Revolutionary War, also carried out diplomatic assignments among the Iroquois before and during the war. He was adopted by the Onondagas on the eve of the war and given the Iroquois name Teahokalonde. Observing the Iroquois Grand Council at Onondaga, Tilghman remarked that the debates of the Iroquois "ought to put us civilized people to the Blush."[38] Benjamin Franklin had a similar impression:

> To interrupt another, even in Common conversation, is reckon'd highly indecent. How different this is to the conduct of a polite British House of Commons, where scarcely a day passes without some Confusion, that makes the Speaker hoarse in calling to Order.[39]

Franklin contrasted the way Indians listened quietly to speakers with "the mode of Conversation of many polite Companies of Europe, where, if you do not deliver your sentence with great Rapidity, you are cut off in the middle of it by the impatient Loquacity of those you converse with, and never suffer'd to finish it!"[40] Franklin wrote that many missionaries had been confused by Indians who listened to their sermons quietly, then refused to believe anything they had said.[41]

Between the time of Roger Williams and the American Revolution, native societies provided Europeans and the new Americans with a living example of people doing their best to govern themselves by natural law. The appeal of this example did not change much during this time;

what did change was its scope, which spread from a small number of travelers, philosophers, and free thinkers to a large enough portion of the population to spur revolution—first in America, then in France.

Euro-Americans' characterizations of native societies during the revolutionary era were suffused by a spirit of liberty—the same spirit that became a patriotic passion and a driving force of revolutionary rhetoric. Samuel Peters, a preacher based in Hebron, Connecticut, reflected this characteristic attitude in his *General History of Connecticut*, published in 1781 near the end of the American Revolution.

> [Indians] enjoy liberty complete without jealousy. . . . [T]he conscious independence of each individual warms his thoughts and guides his actions. He enters the sachemic dome with the same simple freedom that he enters the wigwam of his brother: neither dazzled at the splendor nor awed by the power of the possessor. Here is liberty in perfection![42]

Peters related the European immigrants' desire for liberty and equality directly to their observations of native societies in America.

> [The colonists] discovered that they themselves were men, and entitled to the rights of that race of beings; *and they proceeded upon the same maxims which they found among the Indians,* viz., that mankind is by nature upon an equality in point of rank and possession; that it is incompatible for any particular descriptions of men to monopolise honours and property, to the exclusion of the rest; that it is a part despicable and unworthy of one freeman to stoop to the will and caprice of another on account of his wealth and titles, accruing not from his own, but from the heroism and virtue of his ancestors[emphasis added].[43]

These beliefs were so firmly planted in New England during the Revolution that, according to Peters' account, Americans would deride any English traveler who bragged about his position, wealth, or ancestors. Europeans who flaunted the "imperative mood" in local taverns stood warned, Peters wrote—one haughty move too many, and they would be locked in the local stocks and pelted with rotten produce. "The *vox populi* [voice of the people] had established these maxims in New England."[44]

On the eve of the American Revolution, English observers declared repeatedly that the Iroquois and other American Indians believed they were free and scoffed at coercive authority. A decade before the Revolution, the famous frontier soldier Robert Rogers told a London audience that among American Indians, "every man is free" and no one "has any right to deprive him of his freedom."[45] Another observer in 1772 and 1773, David Jones, found that American Indians believed that

"God made them free—that no man has the natural right to rule over another."[46]

To many Europeans becoming Americans, *vox populi* also was *vox Americana*. As Peters observed, many colonists looked across the frontier for working examples of the types of societies they wished to erect. This is not to say that they wanted to copy Indian societies; many contemporary writers (Franklin, Jefferson, and Paine among them) were quick to point out that the Indian example could help shape the new nation, but that Euro-Americans, with their cultural baggage, could not replicate "the primitive state." In 1777, Thomas Paine attended a treaty council at Easton, Pennsylvania in order to negotiate an alliance with the Iroquois, or at least their neutrality, in the Revolution. According to Paine's biographer, Samuel Edwards, he was "fascinated" by the Iroquois and quickly learned some of their language.[47] Soon Paine was comparing native and European societies in his writing; he especially admired the lack of poverty among American Indians. Poverty, Paine wrote in 1795, was "a thing created by what is called civilization";[48] however, despite the appeal of a society without poverty, he believed it impossible "to go from the civilized to the natural state."[49]

The idea of the Indian as an image of liberty made a vivid and lasting impression on the minds of generations of the new, freedom-loving Euro-Americans. For instance, Rogers utilized this image much as Peters had, at about the same time.

> The great and fundamental principles of their [the Indians'] policy are, that every man is naturally free and independent; that no one . . . on earth has any right to deprive him of his freedom and independency, and that nothing can be a compensation for the loss of it.[50]

James Adair, a trader who spent several years living among the Cherokees and other native peoples along the southern frontier, also referred to the Indians he knew as examples of liberty and equality.

> The equality among the Indians, and the just rewards they always confer on merit, are the great and leading . . . [indeed,] the only motives that warm their hearts with a strong and permanent love for their country. Governed by the plain and honest law of nature, their whole constitution breathes nothing but liberty; and where there is that equality of condition, manners, and privileges . . . *as prevails in every Indian nation and through all our British colonies*, there shows such a cheerfulness and warmth of courage, as cannot be described. . . . If the governed are convinced that their superiors have a real affection for them, they will esteem it in their duty and interest to serve them, and take pleasure in it [emphasis added].[51]

"Liberty, in its fullest extent, is the darling possession of the Americans," wrote one unidentified observer of the revolutionary scene; he did not make it clear whether he meant natives (at that time the word *American* was generally reserved for American Indians), the colonists, or both.

> To this, they sacrifice everything . . . [and] their education is directed in such a manner as to cherish this disposition to the utmost. They are indulged in all manner of liberty. . . . [T]hey experience nothing like command, dependence or subordination.[52]

Regarding the zest for liberty of the Iroquois, Anthony F.C. Wallace quoted a Jesuit missionary who said, "There is nothing for which these people have a greater horror than restraint."[53] "Liberty, in its fullest extent, becomes their ruling passion," was the similar opinion expressed by the Quaker missionary Halliday Jackson.[54] In another account published just after the Revolution, John Long described the Iroquois' attitude toward liberty in the same way as America's revolutionary patriots often described their own sentiments.

> The Iroquois laugh when you talk to them of obedience to kings; for they cannot reconcile the idea of submission with the dignity of man. Each individual is a sovereign in his own mind; and as he conceives he derives his freedom from the Great Spirit alone, he cannot be induced to acknowledge any other power.[55]

William Bartram described his image of Indians and their societies very similarly in another 1791 report.

> The constitution or system of their police is simply natural . . . nothing more than the simple dictates of natural reason, [which are] plain to every one [and] necessary for securing mutual happiness. . . . Every man's conscience being a sufficient conviction (the Golden Rule, do as you would be done by) . . . produces a society of peace and love, which, in effect, better maintains human happiness, than the more complicated system of modern politics, or sumatary laws, enforced by coercive means: for here, the people are all on an equality, as to the possession and enjoyments of the common necessities of life, for luxuries and superfluities they have none.[56]

Jefferson, writing to Edward Carrington in 1787, expressed a similar view of native societies.

> The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, our very first object should be to keep that right; and if it were left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I would not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. I am convinced that those [Indian] societies . . . enjoy in their general mass an infinitely greater degree of happiness than those who live under European governments.[57]

Bartram's opinion echoed Jefferson.

> The Care and Labour of providing for Artificial and Fashionable Wants, the sight of so many rich wallowing in Superfluous Plenty, while so many are kept poor and distressed for Want, the Insolence of Office . . . and restraints of Custom, all contrive to disgust them [Indians] with what we call civil Society.[58]

The Jesuits of New France described the same attitude among Indians with whom they lived in the Saint Lawrence Valley. After Father Le Jeune opened his first school for Indian boys in Quebec, he complained that introducing native boys to the yoke of Christianity was easier said than done. "All these barbarians have the law of wild asses," he wrote to his superiors. "They are born, live and die in a liberty without restraint. They do not know what a bridle is."[59] Father Charlevoix expressed his agreement, although in a less churlish tone: "These Americans are perfectly convinced that man was born free, that no power on earth has a right to infringe his liberty, and that nothing can repay him for the loss of it."[60]

How did a group of individuals so dedicated to individual liberty maintain social cohesion? Adair wrote that the usual method of native government was confederation, which he described in ways that remind one of the confederacy that was being formed by the thirteen states, which had so recently been English colonies, as his *History of the American Indians* was going to press.

> The Indian method of government . . . in general . . . consists of a federal union for mutual safety. . . . The Indians, therefore, have no such titles, or persons as emperors, or kings, or an appellative for such, in any of their dialects. . . . They have no words to express despotic power, arbitrary kings, oppressed, or obedient subjects. . . . The power of their chiefs is an empty sound. They can only persuade or dissuade the people, either by the force of good nature and clear reasoning, or by colouring things, so as to suit the prevailing passions. It is reputed merit alone, that gives them any titles or distinctions.

> Every town is independent of the other. Their own friendly compact continues the union. . . . They are very deliberate in their councils, and never give an immediate answer to any message sent to them by strangers, but suffer some nights first to elapse. They reason in a very orderly manner, with much coolness and good-natured language, though they may differ widely in their opinions.[61]

The custom of "sleeping on it" was common not only among Indian federations along the southern frontier but among the Iroquois as well; it is likely that this expression passed into the "Americanized" English language through contact with the Iroquois.

This seemed to be how the transference of cultural traits and beliefs often took place—one item or idea at a time, depending on the needs of the new Americans. The borrowings did not imply complete understanding of native governments nor a desire to emulate them completely, since the colonists' view was filtered through their image of the "white man's Indian."[62] Nevertheless, because the immigrants recognized a degree of liberty in native societies that they sought for themselves, those who would forge a new nation drew inspiration from the native confederacies they observed. How native confederacies actually governed themselves is the subject of the next chapter, where we draw on a combination of contemporary observation and native oral history to sketch a picture of the societies that bordered the early settlements.

2

PERCEPTIONS OF AMERICA'S NATIVE DEMOCRACIES

The societies colonial Americans observed

This is reversing the natural order of things. A tractable people may be governed in large bodies but, in proportion as they depart from this character, the extent of their government must be less. We see into what small divisions the Indians are obliged to reduce their societies.

—Thomas Jefferson, disputing proposals to enlarge the size of states to be admitted to the Union[1]

All along the Atlantic seaboard, Indian nations had already formed confederacies by the time they first encountered European immigrants —from the "federated republic"[2] of the Creeks in what is now Georgia and Florida; to the Cherokees and Choctaws in the Carolinas; to the Iroquois and their allies, the Hurons, in the Saint Lawrence Valley; to the Penacook federation of New England, among many others. According to Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Ethnic confederacies were common among all the Indian tribes of the Northeast."

> Village bands, and tribes speaking similar languages, holding similar customs, and sharing a tradition of similar origin usually combined into a loose union that at least minimized warfare among themselves. The

> Illinois Confederacy, the "Three Fires" of the Chippewa, Ottawa and Pottawatomi, the Wapenaki Confederacy, the Powhatan Confederacies, the tripartite Miami—all the neighbors of the Iroquois—were members of one confederation or another.[3]

By the late eighteenth century, as resentment against England's taxation flared into open rebellion, the colonists' formative ideology displayed widespread knowledge of native governmental systems. Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, James Adair, Father Le Jeune, and others—from framers to farmers along the length of the coast and into the Saint Lawrence Valley—all saw governmental systems that were remarkably similar in broad outline but had their own variations on the common theme of democracy in councils. These systems had evolved to coordinate governance—across geographic distances that must have seemed huge to these transplanted Europeans—and permit maximum freedom to nations within confederations and individuals within nations.

The colonists forming the United States were charged with similar tasks in molding their own emerging nation, so it should not be surprising that early government in the United States (especially under the Articles of Confederation) greatly resembled native systems in many respects. This is not to say that the founders copied Indian societies—if they had, we would have evolved precincts along family lines, and our senators and representatives would be nominated solely by women—but to say that the native systems of governance, along with European precedents, were factored into a new ideological equation.

The Iroquois' system was the best known to the colonists (in large part because of their pivotal position in diplomacy, not only between the English and French but also among other native confederacies); therefore, we begin our examination of how native confederacies governed themselves with their example. Called the Iroquois by the French and the Five (later Six) Nations by the English, the Haudenosaunee controlled the only relatively level overland passage (the later route of the Erie Canal) between the English colonies on the coast and the French settlements in the Saint Lawrence Valley; their diplomatic influence permeated the entire eastern half of North America.

Cadwallader Colden, who was regarded as "the best-informed man in the New World on the affairs of the British-American colonies,"[4] provided the first systematic study of the Haudenosaunee in 1727, which he augmented in 1747. Franklin read Colden's *History of the Five Indian Nations Depending on the Province of New York in America* before he began his diplomatic career by representing Pennsylvania in meetings with the Iroquois and their allies. After drawing up his Albany

Plan of Union in 1754, which in some respects greatly resembled the Iroquois Confederacy's governmental structure, Franklin's first stop was Colden's estate.[5] Colden held several colonial offices, including lieutenant governor of New York. He also carried on extensive research in various natural sciences and was an anthropologist before the field had a name. Colden was also an adopted Mohawk.[6]

Because of their skills at oratory, warfare, and diplomacy, as well as the republican nature of their government, Colden compared the Iroquois to the Romans. "When Life and Liberty came in competition, indeed, I think our Indians have outdone the Romans in this particular. . . . The Five Nations consisted of men whose courage could not be shaken."[7] Colden's belief that the Indians, particularly the Iroquois, provided the new Americans with a window on their own antiquity was shared by Franklin, Jefferson, and Thomas Paine and, a century later, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels as well as the founders of modern feminism. For two centuries of revolutionaries and reformers, this belief provided a crucial link between Indian societies and their own as well as a counterpoint by which to judge society's contemporary ills.

Elaborating on his belief, Colden wrote, "We are fond of searching into remote Antiquity to know the manners of our earliest progenitors; if I be not mistaken, the Indians are living images of them,"[8] an assumption held in common with many other writers about the New World and its peoples—from Peter Martyr in the sixteenth century to Engels in the late nineteenth century.

> The present state of the Indian Nations exactly shows the most Ancient and Original Condition of almost every Nation; so, I believe that here we may with more certainty see the original form of all government, than in the most curious Speculations of the Learned; and that the Patriarchial and other Schemes in Politicks are no better than Hypotheses in Philosophy, and as prejudicial to real Knowledge.[9]

Colden provided an extensive description of the Iroquois' form of government, which had "continued so long that the Christians know nothing of the original of it."[10]

> Each Nation is an Absolute Republick by its self, governed in all Publick affairs of War and Peace by the Sachems of Old Men, whose Authority and Power is gained by and consists wholly in the opinions of the rest of the Nation in their Wisdom and Integrity. They never execute their Resolutions by Compulsion or Force Upon any of their People.[11]

> The Five Nations have such absolute Notions of Liberty that they allow no Kind of Superiority of one over another, and banish all Servitude from their Territories.[12]

Although some twentieth-century anthropologists maintain that the Iroquois League was only fully formed after Europeans made landfall in North America, the historical records of Europeans such as Colden contained no hint that the Confederacy was in formation at that time. The consensus of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writers, who saw the Confederacy in its full flower, was that it had formed sometime before colonization. The oral history of the Iroquois indicated a founding date somewhere between A.D. 1000 and 1450.[13] Lewis Henry Morgan and Horatio E. Hale estimated the founding date to be toward the end of that spectrum, although William N. Fenton has placed his estimate even later. What united all these estimates and educated guesses was their agreement that the League was firmly in place before the coming of the Europeans.

According to Iroquois oral history, the Confederacy was formed by the Huron prophet Deganawidah (called "the Peacemaker" in oral discourse), who, because he stuttered so badly he could hardly speak, decided to enlist the aid of Aiowantha (sometimes called Hiawatha) in order to spread his vision of a united Haudenosaunee confederacy (see figure 3). The oral history attributed the Peacemaker's stuttering to a double row of teeth. The Confederacy originally included the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas; the sixth nation, the Tuscaroras, migrated into Iroquois country in the early eighteenth century.

Peace among the formerly antagonistic nations was procured and maintained through the Haudenosaunee's Great Law of Peace [*Kaianerekowa*], which was passed from generation to generation by the use of wampum, a form of written communication that outlined a complex system of checks and balances between nations and sexes. Although a complete oral recitation of the Great Law can take several days, encapsulated versions of it have been translated into English for more than a hundred years and provide one reason why the Iroquois are cited so often today in debates regarding the origins of fundamental law in the United States. While many other native confederacies existed along the borders of the British colonies, most records of the specific provisions of their governments have been lost.

To understand the provisions of the Great Law, one must first understand some of the symbols it used to represent the Confederacy. The Confederacy itself was likened to an extended, traditional longhouse, with the Mohawks guarding the "eastern door," the Senecas

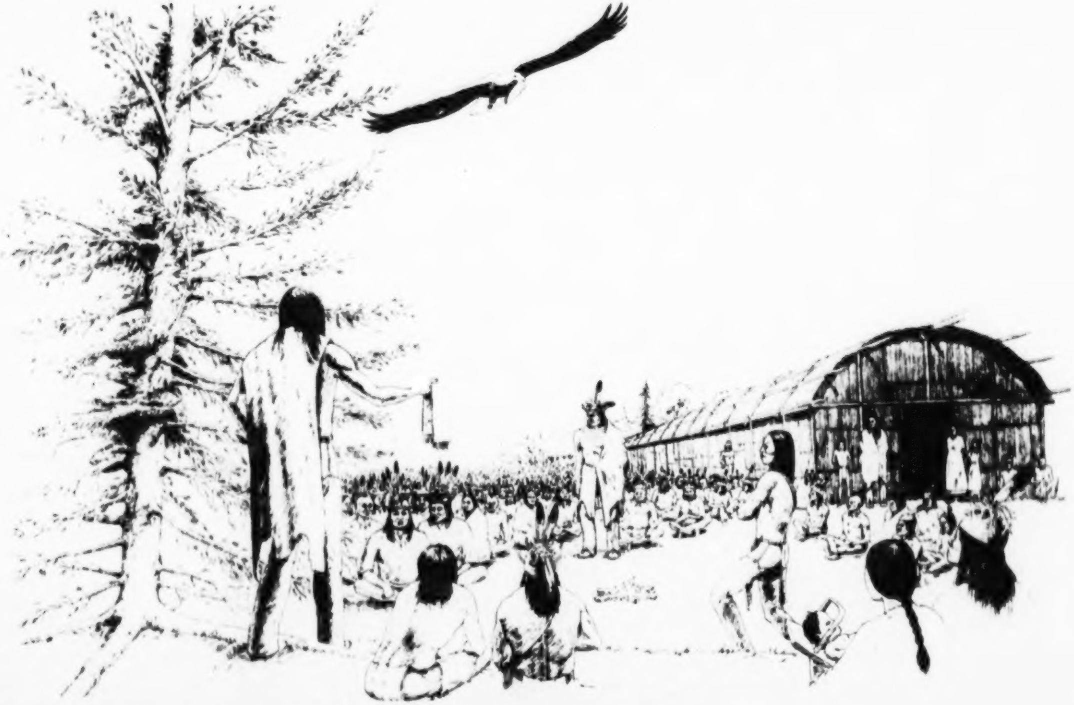


FIGURE 3. Peacemaker presents his vision. By John Kahionhes Fadden.

at the "western door," and the Onondagas tending the ceremonial council fire in the middle (see figure 4). The primary national symbol of the Haudenosaunee was the Great White Pine, which served throughout the Great Law as a metaphor for the Confederacy. Its branches sheltered the people of the Five Nations, and its roots spread to the four directions, inviting other peoples, regardless of race or nationality, to take refuge under the tree (see figure 5). The Haudenosaunee recognized no bars to dual citizenship; in fact, many influential figures in the English colonies and early United States, Colden among them, were adopted into Iroquois nations.

Each of the five nations maintained its own council, whose sachems were nominated by the clan mothers of families holding hereditary rights to office titles. The Grand Council at Onondaga was drawn from the individual national councils, but could also nominate sachems outside the local hereditary structures based on merit alone. These sachems, called "pine tree chiefs," were said to have sprung from the body of the people much as the symbolic Great White Pine had grown from the earth.

The rights, duties, and qualifications of sachems were explicitly outlined, and the clan mothers could remove (or impeach) a sachem who was found guilty of any of a number of abuses of office—from missed meetings to murder. An errant chief was summoned to face charges by the war chiefs, who, in peacetime, acted as the peoples' eyes and ears in the council (somewhat as the role of the press was envisioned by Jefferson and other founders of the United States). A sachem was given three warnings, then removed from the council if he did not mend his ways. A sachem found guilty of murder not only lost his title, but his entire family also was deprived of its right to representation. His women relatives who held the rights to office were "buried," and their title was transferred to a sister family. Iroquois law also provided for the removal from office of sachems who could no longer adequately function (a measure remarkably similar to the twenty-fifth amendment to the United States Constitution, adopted in 1967, which detailed procedures for the removal of an incapacitated president). Sachems were not allowed to name their own successors, nor could they carry their titles to the grave—the Great Law even provided a ceremony for removing the title from a dying chief.

The Great Law stipulated that sachems' skins must be seven spans thick, so that they would be able to withstand the criticism of their constituents. The law pointed out that sachems should take pains not to become angry when people scrutinized their conduct in governmental affairs. Such a point of view pervades the writings of Jefferson and

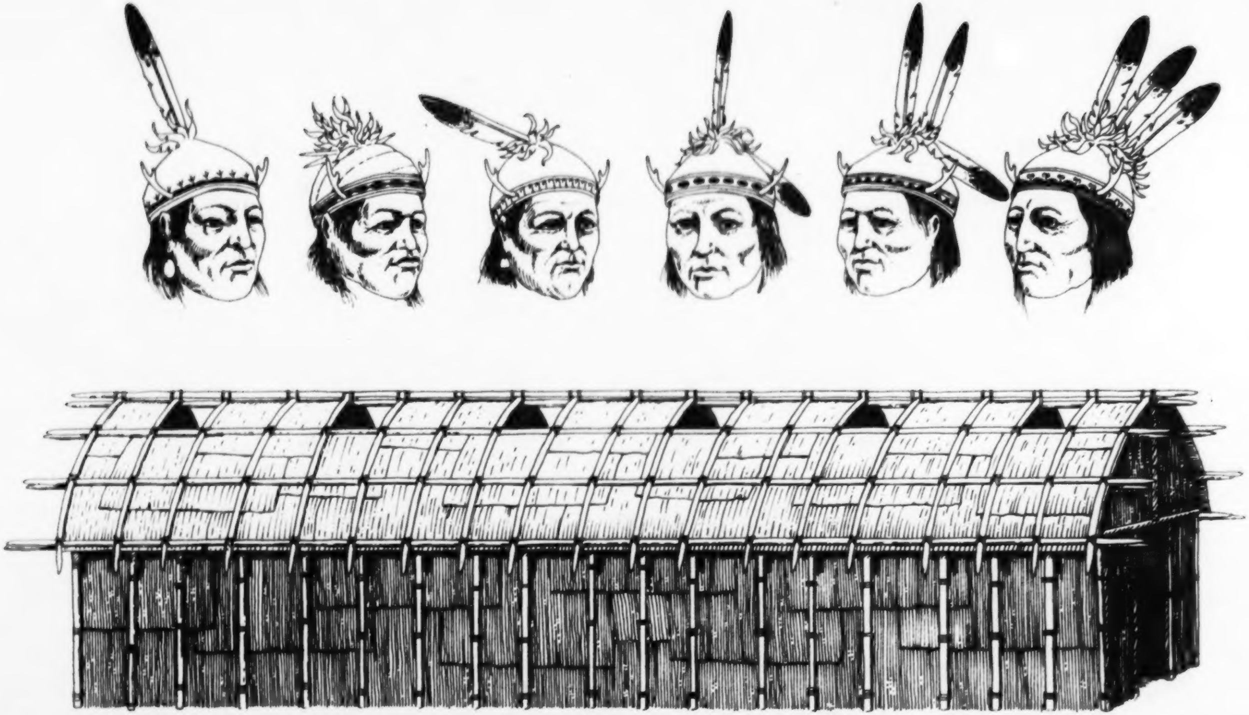


FIGURE 4. The Six Nations Confederacy was likened to a longhouse. By John Kahionhes Fadden.

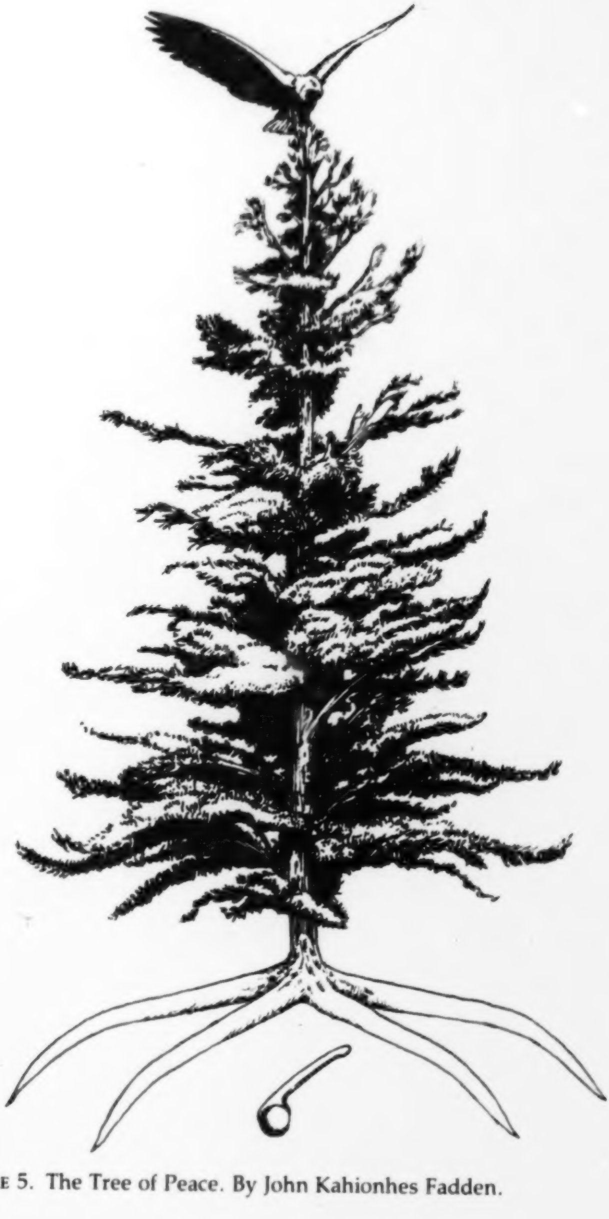


FIGURE 5. The Tree of Peace. By John Kahionhes Fadden.

Franklin, although it was not fully codified into United States law until the Supreme Court decision *New York Times v. Sullivan* (1964), which made it virtually impossible for public officials to sue for libel.

The Great Law also included provisions guaranteeing freedom of religion and the right of redress before the Grand Council. It even forbade unauthorized entry into homes—measures which sound familiar to United States citizens through the Bill of Rights.[14]

As was mentioned earlier, women played a profound role in Iroquois political life. Although the Iroquois were bound together by a clan and chieftain system, which was buttressed by a similar linguistic base, the League of the Iroquois was much more than simply a kinship state. The basic unit of government was the "hearth," which consisted of a mother and her children. Each hearth was part of a wider group called an *otiianer,* and two or more *otiianers* constituted a clan. The word *otiianer* specifically referred to the female heirs to the chieftainship titles of the League. The *otiianer* women selected one of the males within their group to fill any of the fifty seats in the League.

All the sons and daughters of a particular clan were related through uterine families that often lived far apart. In this system, a husband went to live with his wife's family, and their children became members of the mother's clan by right of birth.[15] Through matrilineal descent, the Iroquois formed cohesive political groups—headed by the "clan mothers"—that had little to do with where people lived or from what village the hearths originated. All authority sprang from the people of the various clans that made up the Iroquois Confederacy. The clan mothers appointed the male delegates and deputies who, after consultation within the clan, spoke for them at tribal meetings where issues and questions were formulated and subsequently debated in council.[16]

Iroquois political philosophy was rooted in the concept that all life was spiritually unified with the natural environment and other forces surrounding people. The Iroquois believed that the spiritual power of one person was limited, but was enhanced when combined with other individuals in a hearth, *otiianer,* or clan. Whenever a person died, whether of natural causes or by force, the "public" power was diminished. To maintain the strength of the group, the dead were replaced either by natural increase or by adopting captives of war.[17] This practice insured the continued power and durability of the matrilineal system as well as the kinship state.

Instead of formal instruments of authority, the Iroquois governed behavior by instilling a sense of pride and belonging to the group through common rituals and the careful rearing of children. Iroquois youth were trained to enter a society that was egalitarian, with power more evenly distributed between male and female, young and old, than was common in Euro-American society. Iroquois culture could be loosely called a "shame culture" because of its emphasis on honor, duty, and collaborative behavior, while European culture was more "guilt-oriented," since it emphasized an authoritarian hierarchy and advancement through the acquisition of property, status, and material possessions.[18] Because the Iroquois prized competence as a protector/provider more than material wealth, their children were trained to think for themselves as well as provide for others. The Iroquois did not respect submissive people who were cowed by authority. With this approach, Iroquois society had no use for the elaborate European mechanisms of control to direct the lives of its citizenry. Ostracism and shame were the primary punishments for transgressors, until they had atoned for their actions and demonstrated that they had undergone a purification process.[19]

The League of the Iroquois arose out of the desire to resolve the problem of the blood feud. Before the tribal councils had the Great Law of Peace to sanctify and buttress their society, blood revenge caused strife. Once a clan was reduced by murder or kidnapping, the victim's kinfolk were bound by clan law to avenge the loss of their relative, resulting in endless recriminations. As long as justice and the monopoly on violence resided in the clans, there was no hope of peace and goodwill.

Visionaries among the Iroquois such as Hiawatha (who lived among the Onondagas) tried to call councils to eliminate the blood feud, but all attempts were thwarted by the evil and twisted wizard Tadodaho, an Onondaga who used magic and spies to rule by fear and intimidation. After having failed to defeat the wizard, Hiawatha traveled to countless Mohawk, Oneida, and Cayuga villages with his message of peace and brotherhood. He found acceptance everywhere he went, with the proviso that he first persuade the formidable Tadodaho and the Onondagas to embrace the covenant of peace. Just as Hiawatha was despairing, the prophet Deganawidah entered his life and changed the nature of things among the Iroquois; together, they developed a powerful message of peace. Deganawidah's vision gave substance to Hiawatha's oratory, and so the Constitution of the Iroquois was formulated.[20]

In his vision, Deganawidah saw a giant evergreen (the Great White Pine) reaching to the sky and gaining strength from three counterbalancing principles of life. The first law of nature was that a stable mind and healthy body must be in balance so that peace between individuals and groups could occur. Secondly, Deganawidah believed that humane conduct, thought, and speech were requirements for equity and justice among peoples. Finally, he divined a society in which physical strength and civil authority would reinforce the power of the clan system.

Deganawidah's tree had four white roots that stretched to the four directions of the earth. A snow-white carpet of thistledown spread out from the base of the tree, covering the surrounding countryside and protecting the peoples who embraced the three life-affirming principles. Deganawidah explained that this tree was humanity, living within the principles governing relations among human beings, and the eagle perched on top of the giant pine was humanity's lookout against enemies who would disturb the peace. He postulated that the white carpet could cover the entire earth and provide a shelter of peace and brotherhood for all mankind. His vision was a message from the Creator, bringing harmony to human existence and uniting all peoples into a single family guided by three principles.[21]

With such a powerful vision, Deganawidah and Hiawatha were able to subdue Tadodaho and transform his mind. Deganawidah removed the evil feelings and thoughts from the head of Tadodaho and commanded him to "strive . . . to make reason and the peaceful mind prevail."[22] The evil wizard was reborn as a humane person, charged with implementing the message of Deganawidah. After Tadodaho's redemption, Onondaga became the central fire of the Haudenosaunee and the Onondagas the "firekeepers" of the new Confederacy. (To this day, the Great Council Fire of the Iroquois Confederacy is kept in the land of the Onondagas.)[23]

Deganawidah then gathered together the clan leaders of the Five Nations (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca) around the council fire at Onondaga to hear the laws and government of the Confederacy, which espoused peace, brotherhood, and unity, a balance of power, the natural rights of all people, and sharing of resources, as well as provisions for impeachment or removal of leaders. Moreover, the blood feud was outlawed and replaced by a Condolence Ceremony. Under this new law, when a man was killed, his grieving family could forego the option of exacting clan revenge (the taking of the life of the murderer or a member of the murderer's clan) and, instead, could accept twenty strings of wampum (freshwater shells strung together) from the slayer's family (ten for the dead person and ten for the murderer's own life). In the case of the murder of a woman, the price became thirty wampum strings.[24] Through this ceremony, the monopoly on legally sanctioned violence was enlarged from the clan to the League.

Deganawidah gave strict instructions governing the conduct of the

League and its deliberations. Tadodaho was to maintain the fire and call the Onondaga chiefs together to determine if an issue brought before him was pressing enough to call to the attention of the Council of the Confederacy. If the proposed issue merited council consideration, it would assemble and Tadodaho would kindle a fire and announce the purpose of the meeting. The rising smoke penetrating the sky was a signal to the Iroquois allies that the council was in session. The Onondaga chiefs and Tadodaho were charged with keeping the council area free from distractions.

The Confederacy's legislative process began with a policy debate by the Keepers of the Eastern Door (Mohawks) and the Keepers of the Western Door (Senecas). The question was then thrown across the fire to the Oneida and Cayuga statesmen (the younger brothers) for discussion in much the same manner. Once consensus was achieved among the Oneidas and the Cayugas, the discussion returned to the elder brothers—first to the Senecas and Mohawks for confirmation and finally to the Onondagas for their decision. At this stage, the Onondagas had a power similar to judicial review; that is, they could raise objections to the proposed measure if they believed it was inconsistent with the Great Law. Essentially, the legislators could rewrite the proposed law on the spot so as to be in accord with the Constitution of the Iroquois. Once the Onondaga sachems had reached consensus, Tadodaho gave the decision to Honowireton (an Onondaga chief who presided over debates between the delegations) for confirmation. Finally, Honowireton or Tadodaho returned the legislation to the Mohawks and the Senecas for announcement to the Grand Council.[25]

The overall intent of such a parliamentary procedure was to encourage unity at each step by emphasizing checks and balances, public debate, and consensus. The League's legislative process was similar to the mechanisms of the Albany Plan of Union, the Articles of Confederation, and the United States Constitution.

The rights of the Iroquois citizenry were protected by portions of the Great Law. According to Section 93,

> Whenever an especially important matter . . . is presented before the League Council . . . threatening their utter ruin, then the chiefs of the League must submit the matter to the decision of their people.[26]

Public opinion played an important role. Within the League of the Iroquois, people could have a direct say in the formulation of government policy even if the sachems chose to ignore the will of the people. According to Section 16 of the Great Law of Peace, "If the conditions

. . . arise . . . to . . . change . . . this law, the case shall be . . . considered and if the new beam seems . . . beneficial, the . . . change . . . if adopted, shall be called, "Added to the Rafters."[27] This law resembles provisions for popular initiative in several states of the United States, as well as the mechanisms by which the federal and many state constitutions may be amended.

The people of the League could also initiate impeachment proceedings and treason charges as well as alert the council to public opinion on a specific matter. The Iroquois people also had the power to remove the "hereditary" sachems of the League's Council.[28] Upon the death or removal of a Confederacy chief, his title reverted to the women in his clan, who had "inherited the right" to appoint and remove peace chiefs to the Confederacy. After the clan mothers had nominated the next chief (who was always a male), their proposal was put before the men of the clan. The nomination was then forwarded to the council of the League, where the new chief was installed.[29]

The League of the Iroquois was a family-oriented government, which had a constitution with a fixed corpus of laws concerned with mutual defense. Through the elimination of the clan blood feud, the state was given a monopoly on legally sanctioned violence, which brought peace through a fundamental social contract.[30] But the Iroquois were not inclined to give much power to authorities because of their basic psychological and social attitudes. Thus, unity, peace, and brotherhood were balanced against the natural rights of all people and the necessity of sharing resources equitably. Unity for mutual defense was an abiding concept within the League and was represented by a bundle of five arrows tied together to symbolize the complete union of the nations and the unbroken strength that such a unity provides (Section 57 of the Great Law of the Iroquois). With the strength of many came peace for future generations.[31]

The notion of federalism was strictly adhered to by the Iroquois. The hereditary Iroquois sachems were interested only in external matters such as war, peace, and treatymaking. The Grand Council could not interfere in the internal affairs of the tribe. Each tribe had its own sachems, but their role was limited to matters between themselves and other tribes; they had no say in matters that were traditionally the concern of the clan.[32]

Through public opinion and debate, the Great Law gave basic rights to the Iroquois people within a distinctive and representative governmental framework. The Great Law solved disputes by giving all parties an equal hearing. The Grand Council often functioned as a think tank, for thinking was the primary activity that went on underneath the Great Tree. The Iroquois believed that the more thinkers there were beneath the tree, the better. The Iroquois League accorded prestige to the peace chiefs and thus sought to reduce conflict between war and peace chiefs and the generations. The middle-aged peace chiefs were the firekeepers, encircled by warrior/providers, women, and, finally, the public-at-large. Although the tribes had unequal representation, this was irrelevant, since each tribe voted as one. At the level of village, tribe, and Grand Council, consensus devices were used to obtain unanimity and to report up and down the governmental structure. The League was not able to centralize power in matters other than mutual defense, but it was effective in diminishing friction among the Five Nations. The kinship state, with its imagery of a longhouse spread afar, was clearly comprehended by the Iroquois people.[33] Iroquois power rested upon the consent of the governed and was not coercive in areas of military service, taxation, and police powers.

To the colonial Americans chafing under British authority, such a government and attitude toward freedom were powerful examples that could be used in resisting British sovereignty and tyranny. Certainly, the imagery and concepts of the League had a powerful influence on the hearts and minds of the founders and the American people. Likewise, the Iroquois leaders took an active interest in teaching colonial leaders about the tenets of the Iroquois constitution.[34]

The system of the Hurons was remarkably similar to that of their neighbors, the Iroquois. According to Bruce J. Trigger's *Children of the Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People*, the Hurons' polity, like the Iroquois', was rooted in family structure.[35] Leaders of the various clans used public opinion and consensus to shape decisions, and issues "were usually decided upon by majority vote" and "discussed until a general consensus was reached." No human being would be expected to be bound by a decision to which conscious consent had not been given.[36]

As with the Iroquois, the Huron clans—Porcupine, Snake, Deer, Beaver, Hawk, Turtle, Bear, and Wolf—created familial affinity across the boundaries of their four confederated nations. Members of each clan could trace their ancestry to a common origin through the female line. In each village, clan members elected a civil chief and a war chief. The titles were carried through the female family line, but bestowed on men. While the titles were hereditary in the same sense as in the Iroquois tradition, they did not pass from head to head of a particular family as in most European monarchies. When the time came to choose a leader, members of each clan segment in a particular village had a choice of several candidates, whose personal qualities—"intelligence, oratorical ability, reputation for generosity, and, above all, performance as a warrior"—counted most heavily.[37]

If a village included more than one clan segment (most did, but not all), the elected leaders of each segment formed a village council, which met on purely local issues. The council resolved issues through debate that led to consensus. Each of the four nations, including several villages, held councils that included all the village civil and war chiefs. The four nations—the Attignawantan, Arendarhonon, Attigneenongahac, and Tahontaeanrat—also held a central council, which, according to Trigger, probably consisted of all the village chiefs, representing all the clans. Compared to the Iroquois Grand Council, very little documentation exists regarding this council's operations. It is likely that the Huron Confederacy had a looser structure, since its central council met only once a year, usually for several weeks in the spring (although emergency meetings could be called at any time). The meeting of the central council was meant to bind the four nations and served as much as a social occasion as it was a legislative session. Its proceedings were embellished with feasts to install new village headmen, reunions among old friends, singing, dancing, and war feasts. The central council dealt with issues that affected all four nations in common, such as treaty negotiations and trade with Europeans.

When the Huron central council met, the Attignawantan (by far the largest of the four nations) sat on one side of a ceremonial longhouse, across the council fire from the representatives of the other three nations. The speaker, always an Attignawantan, presided over the speeches of welcome and thanksgiving, which were followed by recitation of the agenda. As each item of the agenda was taken up, the representatives stated their opinions in turn, without interruption. Speaking in council called for a special oratorical style, "full of metaphors, circumlocutions, and other rhetorical devices that were uncommon in everyday speech."[38] Members of the council were expected to retain their composure, even during severe disagreement, in order to guide the debate toward eventual consensus. Many procedures, such as those governing debate among the nations on each side of the council fire or those regarding desirable qualities for sachems or grounds for impeachment, probably existed but have been lost to history.

In the early eighteenth century, the Cherokee Nation was composed of sixty villages, averaging three to four hundred persons each, in five regions. Each village controlled its own affairs and sent delegates to a national council only in times of national emergency. The Cherokees took public opinion so seriously that, if a village became too large (about five hundred people) to permit each adult a voice in council, it was usually split in two. It may have been this kind of political organization that Jefferson had in mind when he penned the following comment regarding a proposal to make the states several times larger than the original colonies:

> This is reversing the natural order of things. A tractable people may be governed in large bodies but, in proportion as they depart from this character, the extent of their government must be less. We see into what small divisions the Indians are obliged to reduce their societies.[39]

In Cherokee society, each adult was regarded as an equal in political matters, and leadership titles were few and informal. Therefore, when Europeans sought "kings" or "chiefs" with whom to negotiate treaties, they usually did not understand that the individuals holding these titles could not compel the allegiance or obedience of others. The Cherokees made a conscious effort to keep government to a minimum, in the belief that personal freedom would be enhanced.[40] George Milliken Johnson, a surgeon who lived with the Cherokees during the middle of the eighteenth century, remarked that "subjugation is what they are unacquainted with . . . there being no such thing as coercive Power among them."[41] Another observer commented that it was "by native politeness alone" that Cherokee chiefs were able to "bind the hearts of their subjects, and carry them wherever they will."[42]

As with many other confederacies, a clan system bound the individual Cherokee villages together. A man or woman, traveling outside his or her own village, knew that members of the same clan awaited them to provide hospitality and other support. The clan system cemented the Confederacy, giving it enough strength and endurance to prevent such a high degree of local autonomy from degenerating into anarchy. In village councils, each clan met in caucus before consensus decisions were reached in a general session. In the new United States, the clan system was replaced by the formation of a large number of voluntary organizations that were national in scope. Franklin, for instance, encouraged these kinds of affiliations in order to tie together people in a geographical area that must have seemed vast—not only to immigrants who were accustomed to the smaller scale of Western Europe, but also to their sons and daughters.

The Cherokees also frowned on acquisition of material wealth. Henry Timberlake speculated that the Cherokees buried valuables with the dead to prevent the development of a class structure based on inherited wealth, thereby making "merit the sole means of acquiring power, honour and riches."[43] One cannot help but wonder how this native example affected the ongoing debate in the colonies and early United States over primogeniture—the right of the first-born son to all or most of his father's estate, a European custom bitterly opposed by Jefferson. According to Timberlake's account, the Cherokees maintained a ceremony meant to provide for the poor. During a special war dance, as each warrior was called upon to recount the taking of his first scalp, anyone with something to spare—"a string of wampum" or a piece of silver "plate, wire, paint," or lead—heaped the goods on a blanket or animal skin that had been placed on the ground. The collection was later divided among the poor of the community, with a share reserved for the musicians who had provided entertainment during the ceremony.[44]

The Choctaws, like the Cherokees, elected leaders from each town or village and sent them to a central council. Their system has been characterized as "amazingly efficient," combining "elected officials, unlimited debate, civilian rule, and local self-government."[45]

Some of the similarities among the political systems of the Iroquois, Hurons, and Cherokees probably were not accidental, since all three groups were linked by a common ancestry. Floyd G. Lounsbury, a linguist, traced the Iroquois and Cherokee linguistic base to a shared language, which split about thirty-five to thirty-eight hundred years ago.[46] There is evidence that the Cherokees migrated southeastward from the Ohio valley and shared the basics of their language with both the Iroquois and the Hurons; this migration continued as late as 1700.[47] In fact, it was about that time that the Tuscaroras moved from an area near Cherokee country to become the sixth nation of the Iroquois.

The similarities in the ways in which colonial observers described native societies, whether or not the native polities actually operated similarly, may have been due to the purpose of their study. As noted earlier, the observers' perceptions of these societies often were incomplete and profoundly reshaped by their own struggle for liberty; therefore, it is likely that native political reality was much more varied, and differences more pronounced, than many contemporary observers believed. However, their beliefs shaped their perceptions of reality; so, even if this knowledge is deemed incomplete or inaccurate by present-day standards, it does not mean that those who drew an image of liberty from native societies got nothing from their endeavors. Quite the opposite was true. Views and visions of America also profoundly affected debate and the course of empire in Europe, as knowledge of native political structures became crucial to the conduct of trade and diplomacy in North America.

3

NATURAL MAN IN AN UNNATURAL LAND

"Kings" from America measure England, 1600-1800

I' the commonwealth I would by contraries
Execute all things; for no kind of traffick
Would I admit; no names of magistrates;
Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,
And use of service, none; contract, succession,
Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;
No occupation—all men idle, all;
And women too, but innocent and pure;
No sovereignty.

—William Shakespeare,
The Tempest[1]

The very European monarchies that set out to rule the world were eventually undermined by ideas of liberty imported to Europe along with more tangible cargoes. These new ideas spread like an intellectual virus through the courts, commons, and streets of Europe; they awakened hopes, aspirations, and political passions; they shaped the character of the Enlightenment, filling it with "natural men," living by "natural law," who asserted their "natural rights"; and they recalled utopian visions as old as the Garden of Eden and Plato's Republic. America was opened, in fact and imagination, to a Europe eager to embrace new notions of liberty.

Reports from America of societies operating by consensus and natural law provided Europeans with what they believed to be living examples of their own premonarchal heritage. By recalling the past, social and political revolutionaries hoped to build a future free from crown and truncheon. America became Europe's answer to every troublesome question and cure for every ailment, from baldness to poverty and tyranny. America provided an outlet for the crowded and coerced of Europe, as well as the promise of land for freeholds, and a spirit of freedom that must have had tremendous appeal.

With the invention of movable type, which very nearly coincided with the voyages of Columbus, came incitement to change and resistance to the established order. European imports of the New World's material riches included a harvest of ideas about new, and often intriguing, ways of ordering societies. These particular foreign imports horrified those who benefitted from Europe's existing order, in which every man and woman had his or her place, and which was enforced through a secular and religious chain of command that stretched from popes and kings, through a wealth-ranked assortment of tradesmen, to serfs and beggars. So, by the early sixteenth century, Europe not only had books but an American imagination with which to fill them.

Europeans encountered versions of America in myths, historical accounts, travel narratives, newspaper reports, stage plays, satirical broadsides, and books of philosophy. The well-placed might even have spoken personally with one of a number of American natives who traveled from America to Europe—some feted as kings, others held for exhibition like zoo animals. The majority of Europeans, who could neither read nor write, only heard of America through gossip and rumor. For every European who made the journey to America, perhaps thousands more traveled only the routes of imagination.

Evidence of European contacts with the native peoples of America, well before Columbus's voyages, provided the intellectual groundwork for the imagination that fired Enlightenment thought. Cotton Mather found what he believed to be Celtic inscriptions in New England. Benjamin Franklin read, but was somewhat critical of, Samuel Mather's pamphlet, *An Attempt to Shew, That America Must Have Been Known to the Ancients,* published in 1773. He argued that if such contact had taken place, it must have been before the time of Tubalcain—to whom the Old Testament attributed the introduction of ironworking (Gen. 4:22)—since natives of America were still unfamiliar with iron.[2] The first written history of Wales, *The History of Cambria, Now Called Wales* (published in 1584), which contained pre-Columbian references to America as "the New Found Land," lent some credence to Mather's theories.

According to this history, Madoc, son of Owen Gwyneth (Prince of Wales during the reign of Henry II), sailed westward with men and munitions, visiting America at least twice.[3] Franklin cited, with approval, theories advanced by Professor Peter Kalm, "a learned Swede," which made the case for a Viking landfall in America. After Kalm's visit to Pennsylvania, Franklin wrote that the circumstances gave his "Account great Appearance of Authenticity" (making note, however, that the climate of Newfoundland and New England must have been warmer then in order to support the grape vines mentioned in Kalm's Viking accounts).[4]

On both sides of the Atlantic, these sporadic contacts left a residue of myth, transmitted from generation to generation in oral histories. American Indians, from Nova Scotia to Mexico, told their children about pale-skinned, bearded strangers who had arrived from the direction of the rising sun. Such myths played a large part in Cortez's conquest of the Aztecs, who had anticipated the "return" of men resembling the Spaniards.[5] The natives of Haiti told Columbus that they, too, expected the return of white men; some Mayan chants spoke of visits by bearded strangers. The Lenape (Delawares) informed Moravian missionaries of their wait for the return of divine visitors from the East. These premonitions, among others, suggest communication between the peoples of the Old and New Worlds centuries before Columbus, although no tangible evidence of what they might have talked about remains. Bones and pottery can be dug up and carbon-dated; but, in a time when few things were written and even fewer writings preserved, ideas were as perishable and mutable as memory. Did early visitors return to Europe with accounts of America that lay dormant until the Renaissance and Enlightenment? Perhaps we shall never know.

When Columbus and other explorers brought home accounts of "natural men" living by "natural law," they reinforced beliefs that had existed in Europe since the ancient Greeks and Romans. The Roman historian Tacitus used the "barbarian" tribes of northern Europe as a counterpoint to the corruption of Roman society when he quoted a leader of the Britons on the character of Roman "civility": "Robbery, butchery and rapine the liars call Empire. They create a desolation, and call it Peace."[6] Aristotle and Plato wondered whether the original state of humankind had been democratic and communistic.[7]

Centuries before Columbus, English commoners were reciting an old poem from memory that described the "Land of Cokaygne, far west of Spain," in terms that must have warmed the hearts of the medieval serfs.

Every man takes what he will
As of right, to eat his fill,
All is common, to young and old,
To stout and strong, to meek and bold

. . . .

Geese fly [overhead] roasted on the spit.
Every goose in garlic dressed.[8]

Cokaygne brought hope into the often bleak and hungry lives of English commoners. In a few lines of verse, its visions of stream banks encrusted with gold and precious jewels, of birds in every bush, combined all those dreams of the human spirit that yearn for a more perfect, more egalitarian society.

When voyagers returned from America with stories of societies without class structure or poverty, where people seemed to live by natural law without judges, jails, kings, or queens, their accounts dovetailed with European visions honed, for millennia, on the grinding wheel of a dreary reality. One such report, which circulated through Europe in 1507 (in Latin), was an account of the voyages of Amerigo Vespucci. *The First Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci* actually was a work of fiction. According to Bruce A. Burton, this account of the freedoms of American native peoples was more than a simple appeal to European wish-fulfillment; it also provided justification for the seizure of their wealth by emphasizing the Indians' lack of lust for riches, as defined by Europeans.[9] On the one hand, the Vespucci forgery contributed the following description of native freedoms—whose images would reappear, time and time again, in the works of Franklin, Jefferson, Paine, Marx, and Engels, and the French philosophers, as well as in countless novels and tracts: "These people have neither King, nor Lord, nor do they yield obedience to any one, for they live in their own liberty."[10] On the other hand, the subjugation of America's native peoples—by Europeans and their descendants—would continue for the next five centuries.

The "discovery" of America by Columbus was followed, only a few years later, by the flowering of utopian literature—a genre to which Sir Thomas More's work gave its name. Inspired by egalitarian dreams, the search for Utopia continued for three centuries, or until the term *terra incognita* vanished from earthly maps around 1900. Sir Thomas had read the Vespucci forgeries and was familiar with the travel accounts of Columbus and others. *Utopia* (written in 1515 and 1516) chronicled another's travels, those of the sailor-philosopher Hythloday, who had accompanied Vespucci to America before becoming separated from his shipmates. For five years, Hythloday traveled where no European had ever been—to Utopia. In this context, *Utopia* could be regarded as a travel narrative, as well as "the first explicit literary example, rooted in the New World, of a political alternative to Europe's tyrannies."[11] Utopia was considered so subversive in England that More was forced to publish it in Antwerp. It was not published in England until 1551, sixteen years after its author was beheaded at the Tower of London.

The world Sir Thomas invented owed a great deal to the travel accounts of early explorers of the New World. In Utopia no one killed to enforce doctrine, and no church regimented the purity of the soul. It was a society of peers, governed by consent, without lawyers, judges, or debtors' prisons. Leaders were elected by the people and removed from office by them "on suspicion of some design to enslave the people."[12] Utopians valued leisure and disdained private property, especially gold (as did the American Indians Franklin would later describe). Six hours of work per person per day provided plenty for all, because Utopia had no rich, idle nobility. Where poverty did not exist, neither did greed: "There is no danger of a man asking for more than he needs; they have no inducements to do this, since they are sure they shall always be supplied."[13] As had Tacitus before him, Sir Thomas used his "primitive" society as a mirror of social criticism for "civilized" Europe.

For nearly a century longer, the English got their reports of the New World from Spanish and Portuguese (and later French) explorers; but, with the settlement of Jamestown in 1607, this news came to them more directly. William Shakespeare wrote his plays as at the same time English eyes first set sight on America; *The Tempest* (written in 1611 and 1612) drew upon these accounts of American societies and mixed them with European memories of a premonarchal Golden Age.

> *I' the' commonwealth I would by contraries*
> *Execute all things; for no kind of traffick*
> *Would I admit; no names of magistrates;*
> *Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,*
> *And use of service, none; contract, succession,*
> *Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;*
> *No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;*
> *No occupation—all men idle, all;*
> *And women too, but innocent and pure;*
> *No sovereignty.*[14]

It would not be for nearly a hundred years after Shakespeare penned these lines that Native Americans, themselves, would make the trip across the Atlantic and experience this frenzy of fascination first-hand on the streets of London.

Imagine standing on a street corner in London near Buckingham Palace, on a spring day in 1710 during the reign of Queen Anne. You are like most Britons of the time, having only rarely traveled outside your hometown or village; a trip, even to London, is an exotic experience. You marvel at the surge of humanity streaming after an elegantly painted pair of carriages, and, elbowing your way through the crowd, you catch a fleeting glimpse of the passengers—American kings! They are tall, well-muscled, black of hair, bronze of skin, and clothed in a riot of color, a combination of their native dress and royal gifts that makes them look even more exotic than you might have imagined. The carriages soon disappear into the palace, bound for the Court of Saint James, carrying four Mohawk Indians on their way to an audience with the queen and her ministers. You have just witnessed a part of England's ongoing contest with France for North America and the rest of the known world. The queen has invited these American kings to London to impress them with the grandeur and power of England, in hopes of forging an alliance with the Iroquois.[15]

American Indians had visited England, France, Portugal, and Spain for at least a century before that spring day in 1710, but they had never before come as the feted guests of royalty. One of the most memorable visitors, Squanto, had already been to England by the time the Pilgrims landed in America and met them on the beach speaking English. For decades European fishermen had taken a few American natives back to England—some went willingly, some not. Traders had enslaved small groups in hopes of making their fortunes by displaying the Indians in carnivals. Never before, however, had London responded to such visitors with quite this degree of excitement—the carriages, the pomp, the mobs of gawkers and hawkers, and the columns of newsprint mixing reporting with imagination. With as much speed as the communication and transportation technologies of the early eighteenth century could muster, the four Mohawk "kings" became instant celebrities.

No Mohawk or Iroquois council had appointed the four "American kings" as ambassadors to Queen Anne's court. They had been chosen more or less at the convenience of Peter Schuyler, British Indian agent. The fact that all four were Mohawks was not coincidental; of the five Iroquois nations, the Mohawks were the best known to the English through their role as the Keepers of the Eastern Door of the Longhouse, which opened at the British trading post of Albany. English royalty had cast the four visiting Mohawks in its own image, believing—because this was how kings and queens imagined things—that these four Mohawks could issue edicts to the Iroquois nations. They imagined in error, since, in reality, only one of the four had any real influence at home, and he led his fellow Mohawks not by edict but by persuasion. This "king" was a young man called Tiyanoga by his people and Hendrick by the English.

The three Mohawks accompanying Hendrick had very short historical careers. Oh Nee Yeath Ton No Prow's Christian name was John; during the royal visit he was often referred to as "King of Ganajahhore," based, no doubt, on Columbus's geographical error. He signed with the wolf, his clan. History has left us nothing more about him.

Sa Ga Yean Qua Prah Ton's Christian name was Brant; he became better known later in the century as the grandfather of Joseph Brant, a famous figure in Iroquois history. The elder Brant, who also signed with the wolf, died shortly after returning home from London. While in England, he was known as "King of the Maquas."[16]

Elow Oh Kaom had been christened Nicholas and was called "King of the River Nation" during the royal visit. He may have been born into the Schacooks or Mohicans—also known as the "River Indians" among the English— and adopted by the Mohawks later. He signed with the tortoise.[17]

Hendrick was undoubtedly the youngest of the four, probably not more than thirty years old in 1710. His full native name was Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Prow, which was often shortened to Tiyanoga. Later in life, Hendrick became a key figure in the English alliance with the Iroquois and was wounded in 1755 at the Battle of Lake George, while leading a force of Mohawks against the French. Hendrick became an important historical figure, not only in his own right but also as an object of European and American literary imagination. A lifelong friend of Sir William Johnson, Hendrick appeared often at Johnson Hall near Albany (sometimes even arriving in war paint, fresh from battle), and had many opportunities to rub shoulders with visiting English nobles. Well-known as a man of distinction in matters of dress and manners, Hendrick visited England again in 1740 at the behest of King George. There he was presented with an ornate green coat of satin, fringed in gold, which he was fond of wearing in combination with his traditional Mohawk ceremonial clothing. By 1754, Hendrick was so well known among the colonial English that he earned a special invitation to the Albany Congress to consult with Franklin and other delegates on a plan for intercolonial union, which, in many ways, resembled the Iroquois system of government.[18] Hendrick was also a member of the wolf clan.

The Mohawks first visited Buckingham Palace on 19 April 1710, when they were introduced by the Duke of Shrewsbury to Queen Anne. Abraham Schuyler, Peter's cousin, was the interpreter on this historic occasion.

"GREAT QUEEN," Hendrick began, with a sense of pomp enhanced by the creative capitalization of English printers, "We have undertaken a long and tedious Voyage, which none of our Predecessors could ever be prevailed upon to undertake." He reminded the queen that the Mohawks had been "a strong wall" of "Security" for the English in North America, "even to the loss of our best men." He then told her that they were tired of preparing for battle against the French, only to have the engagements postponed by the English; they were eager to reclaim their "Free hunting" and "great Trade with our Great Queen's children." The Mohawks then emphasized the importance of their statements by presenting the queen with several large wampum belts. The speech then became very nearly a warning: "We need not urge our Great Queen . . . that in Case our Great Queen should not be mindful of us, we must, with our families, forsake our Country and seek other Habitations, or stand Neuter, either of which would be very much against our inclinations." After Hendrick finished speaking, the four "kings" requested the queen's "most Gracious Consideration" and left on a hectic, two-week tour of London and other nearby points in southern England.[19]

Day after day, the four were spirited from their lodgings at London's Two Crowns and Cushions to see the sights: They dined with the Duke of Ormonde near Richmond; they traveled by queen's barge to Greenwich, visiting Dr. Flamsteed, the royal astronomer, and the local hospital; they made trips to the dockyards of Woolrich as well as to Whitehall and Saint Paul's Cathedral; and they attended innumerable receptions with "persons of quality." At every stop, their celebrity seemed to grow, and crowds often followed their carriages.

Five days after the Mohawks' audience with Queen Anne, at least one theater manager used their visit as an advertising gimmick. The Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket placed an advertisement in the Daily Courant for a performance of Macbeth for "the Entertainment of the Four INDIAN KINGS lately arriv'd." On the twenty-fourth, as promised, the Americans appeared at the theater wearing waistcoats, stockings, and breeches. The performance began as scheduled, but was soon stopped by the audience, who shouted, ever louder, "The kings we will have!" Mr. Wilks, who was playing Macbeth, tried to carry on, assuring the crowd that the "kings" were, indeed, present in the front box. Wilks's words had no effect on the crowd, who had come to see the Americans' faces, not their backs. After all, they could see Macbeth any time, but four Mohawks were a real rarity. The audience told the actors to get off the stage and put on the "kings." Having little choice, Wilks found chairs for them and seated them in full view.

One broadside writer of the time provided the following description:

> The persons of these princes . . . are well-formed, being of a stature neither too high nor too low, but all within an inch or two of six Foot. Their habits are robust, and their Limbs muscular and well-shap'd; they are of brown Complexions, their Hair black and long, their visages . . . very awful and majestick, and their Features regular enough, though something of the austere and sullen.[20]

The reporter felt obliged, however, to reconcile the celebrity status of the four Americans with what he assumed was their more humble life at home: "According to the custom of their Country, these princes do not know what it is to . . . make much of themselves." The frenzied wining and dining in London must stand in stark contrast to their more wholesome fare at home, which he thought must free them of "those indispositions our Luxury brings upon us," such as "Gout, Dropsy, or Gravel," as well as various fevers. (By the time this article was published, one of them, probably the elder Brant, was confined to his bed at the Two Crowns and Cushions, ill from English overindulgence.) The anonymous writer reported that the Indians had offered to entertain the queen by running down "a Buck or Stag . . . when she pleases to see them, in any of her Parks or Chaces. They are to tire down the Deer, and catch him without Gun, Speare, Launce, or any other weapon," something the rich, fat English nobility was clearly incapable of doing.[21]

No trace remains of the Americans' response to the performance of Macbeth, which was able to continue once the audience was satisfied; fortunately, the reaction of the English to the Mohawks has been preserved.

> The kings proved to be a hit, and for the remainder of the week, the Haymarket tagged all its performances 'For the Entertainment of the Four INDIAN KINGS,' including Hamlet, Otway, two operas, and a one-act farce.[22]

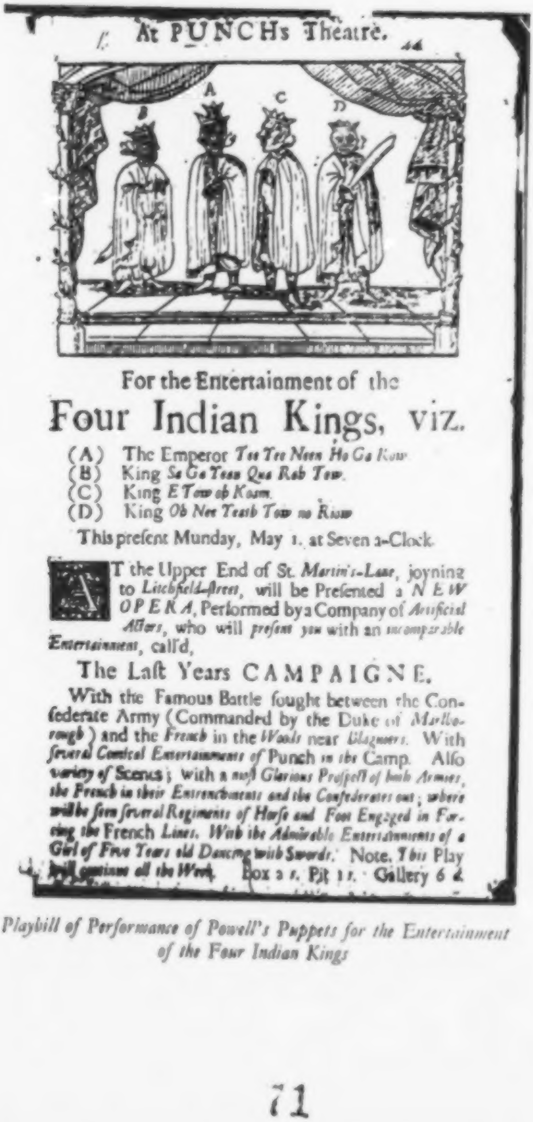
The use of the Mohawks as crowd-bait had caught on; they could not possibly have attended every event advertised in their honor. Drury Lane's Theatre Royal announced two plays to be put on in their honor, and the Cockpit Royal on Cartwright Street offered a cockfight for their entertainment. The *Tatler* advertised a concert of "Vocal and Instrumental Musick" sponsored by "Several Ladies of Quality," which was to be performed for them on 1 May. On the same day, Powell the Puppeteer offered a show at Punch's Theatre to honor the "kings"; sketches of their faces appeared on a handbill advertising the event (see figure 6).[23] The following day, which was also the last day of their visit, the *Daily Courant* advertised a "Tryal of Skill to be fought in the Bear Garden in Hockley in the Hole." In this contest between John Parkes of Coventry and Thomas Hesgate, "a Berkshire Man," these warriors of the urban wilderness were to fight each other with "these following weapons, viz.: Backsword, Sword and Dagger, Sword and Buckler, Single Falchon, Cafe of Falchon, and Quarter Staff." It is not known whether or not the Mohawks were in the audience; however, one can speculate about what might have crossed their minds had they watched this "civilized" sporting event with a crowd of frenzied Londoners who were attempting, perhaps, to forget a proposed tax on bread. The new tax was announced in the *Daily Courant* on 3 May along with a notice for another "Tryal of Skill" advertised in honor of the four "kings," which took place, however, several hours after they had already departed from London.

Between attending royal audiences and public spectacles, the Mohawks met with English missionaries to ask their help in countering the influence of French Jesuits among the Iroquois. The Society for Propagation of the Gospel was happy to oblige; it sent them home with one copy each of the Bible, "bound handsomely in red Turkey leather," as well as their pledge to help combat the sale of intoxicating liquor to Indians in America. The Mohawks' own drinking habits were a matter for speculation in the newspapers; the general consensus, quite without factual foundation, was that they preferred English "pale ales" to French wines.[24] They also heard a sermon at Saint James's Chapel, preached by the Lord Bishop of London. According to "The Royal Strangers' Ramble," a poem composed shortly after their visit, they also witnessed the bounty of English agriculture and industry at Leadenhall Market and went to the London Tower to see some of the military might the English were preparing to use against the French.

Following a short audience of leave-taking with Queen Anne, the Mohawks left London by carriage early on 3 May and arrived at Portsmouth the next day via the main road through Southampton. The dock beside their ship groaned under crates of gifts: clothing of linen, cotton, and wool (including forty-three linen shirts); razors; hair combs; jew's harps; two dozen large pairs of scissors and an equal number of

Playbill for Powell's Puppets

[Courtesy British Museum]



At PUNCHs Theatre.

For the Entertainment of the

Four Indian Kings, viz.

(A) The Emperor *Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row*
(B) King *Sa Ga Yean Qua Rah Tow*.
(C) King *E Tow oh Koam*.
(D) King *Oh Nee Yeath Tow no Riow*

This preſent Munday, May 1. at Seven a-Clock.

AT the Upper End of St. *Martin's-Lane*, joyning to *Litchfield-ſtreet*, will be Preſented a *N E W O P E R A*, Performed by a Company of *Artificial Actors*, who will *preſent you* with an *incomparable Entertainment*, call'd,

The Laſt Years CAMPAIGNE.

With the Famous Battle fought between the Confederate Army (Commanded by the Duke of *Marlborough*) and the *French* in the *Woods* near *Blaguiers*. With *ſeveral Comical Entertainments of* Punch *in the* Camp. Alſo *variety of* Scenes; with a *moſt Glorious Proſpect of both Armies, the French in their Entrenchments and the Confederates out; where will be ſeen ſeveral Regiments of Horſe and Foot Engaged in Forcing the* French *Lines. With the Admirable Entertainments of a Girl of Five Years old Dancing with Swords.* Note, *This Play will continue all the Week.* Box 2 *s.* Pit 1 *s.* Gallery 6 *d.*

Playbill of Performance of Powell's Puppets for the Entertainment of the Four Indian Kings

FIGURE 6.

magnifying glasses; hats; pistols; four hundred pounds of gunpowder; lead bars; brass kettles; and portraits of the queen. These, and many more of England's industrial products, were meant to convince the Iroquois that they would do better by siding with the English than with the French. On the sixth, the Royal Navy provided another display of English power. The Mohawks were received on board the Royal Sovereign, flagship of Admiral Matthew Aylmer, commander of the fleet, where they "tarry'd . . . till the evening, and at their departure received the usual honours of the ship."[25] Delayed by incessant socializing and contrary winds, their ship, the Dragon, a man-of-war accompanying a merchant fleet, did not set sail for Boston until 19 May.

England played host to other American Indians, of course. Two or three (probably also Iroquois) visited London in 1720; ten years later, a group of Cherokee made the trip, and, thirty years after that, Ostenaco, another Cherokee, did the same. In 1776 (and again in 1785 and 1786) Joseph Brant, who played a major role in rallying some of the Iroquois to the British cause during the American Revolution, crossed the Atlantic. When his sketch appeared in the July 1776 edition of *London Magazine*, neither he nor the Londoners knew that American revolutionaries had just posted their Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia.[26]

In a sense, the first four "Indian Kings" never really left England; they lived on in gossip and literary imagination, only to be reinvented by each successive generation of authors, poets, and playwrights. Soon after their 1710 departure, a "Mohock Club" began perpetrating creative mischief in London's streets. A year later, Addison and Steele's *Spectator* used the Mohawks to twit British society in this eyewitness account: "When the four Indian Kings were in this Country about a Twelve-month ago, I often mixed with the Rabble and followed them a whole Day together, being wonderfully struck with the Sight of every thing that was new or uncommon."[27]

In addition, the *Spectator* began to publish parts of a manuscript purportedly left behind by the Mohawks at the Two Crowns and Cushions. This "little Bundle of Papers" had been turned over to the editors by the owner of the hostelry, who, incidentally, had been given a Mohawk name by the visitors. The hotel owner, now known as Cadaroque, "which is the name of the strongest fort in their Part of the World," had been so honored because he had introduced the "kings" to the pleasures of English bedding.[28] Since none of these Americans had a written language as Europeans understood it, it must have been a neat trick to translate the "little bundle," as the *Spectator* claimed it had done.

Even though the "papers" were fake, Addison and Steele's invention was a frequently used literary device in Europe and America during the Enlightenment: the use of "other eyes," usually those of American Indians, to critique society. Throughout England, France, and America, "natural man" was often called upon to comment on the foibles of civilization. In this case, Addison and Steele used their Hendrick to needle English religion.

> Reasons . . . make us think that the natives of this country had formerly among them some sort of worship; for they set aside every seventh day as sacred; but upon going into one of their Holy houses on that day, I could not observe any circumstance of devotion in their behavior. . . . A considerable number of them [were] fast asleep . . . [as a] man in black who was mounted above the rest seemed to utter something with a great deal of importance.[29]

The fictional Hendrick found the dress of the English "likewise very barbarous, for they almost strangle themselves about the neck, and bind their bodies with many ligatures"; instead of wearing "beautiful feathers" on their heads, the English often "buy a monstrous bush of hair [a wig] . . . with which they walk up and down the streets . . . proud of it as if it were their own growth."[30]

The *Spectator* next turned the eyes of its ersatz Mohawk to English politics. According to the "bundle of papers," the queen had appointed two men to accompany the Americans, both of whom had an elementary knowledge of Indian language. Quickly, the four Mohawks surmised that their hosts did not agree with each other on politics. One told them, "This Island is very much infested with a monstrous kind of Animal, in the shape of men, called *Whigs*" and warned them to keep an eye out for such beasts. "He hoped that we should meet with none of them in our way, for, if we did, they would be apt to knock us down for being Kings." The other man cautioned the Indians about another beast, "called a *Tory*, that was as great a monster as the Whig, and would treat us ill for being Foreigners." According to the *Spectator*, the Mohawks compared Whigs and Tories to the elephant and rhinoceros; it is unlikely that they had ever seen either animal, since neither existed in the New World.[31]

In the 4 May 1711 edition of the *Spectator*, Addison and Steele returned to the thoughts and actions of the "Indian Kings," beginning with a description of the Mohawks' own religious beliefs. "The Americans believe that all creatures have Souls, not only Men and Women, but Brutes, Vegetables, and even the most inanimate things, such as

Sticks and Stones" (a reasonably accurate characterization of some American Indian religious beliefs).[32] What followed, however, can only be described as fanciful. In their "bundle of papers," the editors found a tale of one Marraton, who, while trying to enter the "world of spirits," encountered a lion (another beast of the Old World) that was actually a ghost.[33] Marraton made his way past this and other apparitional oddities, into the spirit world, a sort of American Indian Garden of Eden—a "happy Region . . . peopled with innumerable Swarms of Spirits, who applied themselves to Exercise and Diversions . . . as their fancies led them."[34] Having taken its readers to a sort of American heaven, the *Spectator* also provided them with a glimpse of Mohawk hell—"Several Molten Seas of Gold, in which were plunged the souls of barbarous Europeans who put to the sword so many Thousands of poor Indians for that Precious Metal."[35] The *Spectator* turned the Europeans' primary symbol of avarice on its head, as had Sir Thomas More (who wrapped the slaves of Utopia in chains of gold) and Lenin (who bragged that the proletariat would someday sit on twenty-four karat commodes). By using the device of outsiders' eyes, it satirized the colonizers' lust for what the nineteenth-century Lakota holy man, Black Elk, would call "the yellow metal that drives white men crazy."[36]

Along with its two tales, the *Spectator* offered a plea for cultural relativism. "We are all guilty in some measure of the same narrow way of thinking," Addison and Steele editorialized, "[w]hen we fancy the customs, dresses and manners of other countries as ridiculous and extravagant, if they do not resemble our own."[37] American Indians provided Europeans with an entirely new standard by which to judge established customs and assumptions, as they would continue to do during the early years of European-American contact.

As the *Spectator* was delivering this commentary, Francis Bird was erecting a more tangible reminder of the Mohawks' visit. His statue of Queen Anne near Saint Paul's looks down upon her subjects from a pedestal: Britannia, holding a trident; Hibernia, carrying a harp; Gallia, protecting the queen's crown; and, finally, America, personified by an Indian woman in a headdress of feathers, with a quiver of arrows slung over one shoulder—the same image conjured up by Paul Revere and other British colonists three generations later as they searched for a symbol of emerging American identity.[38]

After the *Spectator* published its "little bundle of papers," Jonathan Swift complained that the editors had poached the idea from him and announced his plans to write a book on the same subject.[39] Perhaps that book turned out to be *Gulliver's Travels*. Those supremely rational horses, the Houyhnhnms (which, in their own language, means the

"Perfection of Nature"), seem remarkably similar to this image of the American Indian.[40]

The original title of *Gulliver's Travels* was *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World: In Four Parts,* written by one Lemuel Gulliver. Swift's book, while purposefully fanciful and satirical, falls squarely within the genre of travel literature that did so much to open European eyes to the wonders of other continents during the Age of Discovery. He wrote his book as European explorers were sending home descriptions of traditional societies from Africa, Australia, and Asia, as well as the Americas; the Houyhnhnms could be a composite of Tasmanian, African, Aztec, and Mohawk peoples (more or less, or not at all). The image of "natural man" loomed large in the European imagination of this time. He seemed to live a life of simple equality, which awed and confounded Europeans, who, while blessed with civilization, cursed its burdens. He inhabited a world about which they only could dream—and dream they did, weaving fact and fancy, myth and desire, using the image of natural man to provide amusement or provoke revolution. In today's tamed and fully mapped world, we have nothing like it except, perhaps, science fiction, which weaves the knowns of other planets and galaxies with fictional speculation about their possible life forms and societies.

In his *Travels,* Swift (in the person of Gulliver) was called upon to describe English society to the Houyhnhnms. In so doing he echoed the sentiments of the *Spectator*'s Mohawks. How, for example, was Gulliver to explain the behavior of English lawyers, for whom legal obfuscation was money in the bank, to a race embodying the "perfection of nature?" They were "yet wholly at a loss to understand what motives could incite" these "lawyers to perplex, disquiet, and weary themselves by engaging in a confederacy of injustice."[41] The Houyhnhnms were equally at a loss to understand an economy where, as Gulliver explained it, "the rich man enjoyed the fruits of the poor man's labor" and "the bulk of our people are forced to live miserably, by labouring every day for small wages to make a few live plentifully."[42] They could not reconcile such a system with their own, which "went upon the supposition that all animals had a title to their share of the productions of the earth."[43]

Gulliver spent less than a year with the Houyhnhnms, but wished he could have stayed for life. The noble horses were not about to let Gulliver's scent of Yahooism pollute their paradise, however. So, even though the traveler expressed his "firm resolution never to return to humankind, but to pass the rest of my life among these admirable Houyhnhnms in the contemplation and practice of every virtue," the proprietors of paradise told him to build a boat and get out.[44] Gulliver cried on his departure and made his way sorrowfully back to "enjoy my own speculations in my little garden at Redriff, to apply those excellent lessons of virtue which I learned among the Houyhnhnms, hoping to teach the same virtues to the Yahoos of my family."[45]

Back in England, Gulliver became a lonely man. At dinner, even though his wife would sit at the far end of a long table, Gulliver found that he must stuff his nostrils with "rue, lavender, and tobacco leaves" against "the smell of a Yahoo continuing very offensive." He suffered the sights of his homeland with a tortured equanimity. "My reconcilment to the Yahoo-kind in general might not be so difficult if they would be content with the vices and follies which nature hath entitled them to." The sight and smell of "a lawyer, a pickpocket, a colonel, a fool, a lord, a whoremonger, . . . an evidence" [paid informer], or a "traitor" offended Gulliver's newly refined senses less than the insolent pride each took in his own degradation.[46]

At every turn, Gulliver was haunted by the knowledge that he had seen a better society. He could not rid his mind of images of the Houyhnhnms, beings who abounded "in all the excellencies that can adorn a rational creature."[47] The noble Houyhnhnms did not even have words in their language for the sorts of depravities that Gulliver's countrymen took for granted; however, he remembered they "who live under the government of reason" were "no more proud of the good qualities they possess than I should be for not wanting a leg or an arm, which no man in his wits would boast of, although they would be miserable without them."[48] Poor Gulliver was now condemned to live between two worlds—the heaven of myth and memory and the hell of bitter, reeking Yahoo reality.

Whether horse or human, the noble outsider became a stock character in English literature, as well as a "participant" in debates over social, economic, and political issues for the rest of the eighteenth century. Two years after Hendrick's second visit to London, the *Scots Magazine* and *London Magazine* published identical "Indian Letters." The ersatz savage quoted in both magazines found himself to be a natural man in a very unnatural land. The "order of nature is inverted here," the Indian told his English readers. The American visitor seemed perplexed by the British legal system, especially the lawyers who profit by arguing over what the law really means. "Those very men of law disagree with one another what is or is not law; but however they disagree about it, they live by it, and live the better the more they do disagree."[49]

With each passing generation, Londoners also had a chance to renew their acquaintance with actual American Indian visitors. In 1762 Ostenaco (also called Outasette) made the long voyage across the Atlantic. A young Thomas Jefferson, whose father had often lodged Indian leaders on their way to or from the colonial capital, heard Ostenaco's farewell speech given near Williamsburg. Jefferson later recalled that "his sounding voice, distinct articulation, animated action, and the solemn silence of his people at their several fires filled me with awe and veneration, altho' I did not understand a word he uttered."[50]

Ostenaco's visit to London inspired an essay in the *Saint James Chronicle,* which made reference to the four Mohawks who had visited Queen Anne as well as the *Spectator*'s essays about them.[51] The *Saint James Chronicle* claimed to have interviewed Ostenaco, who called his English hosts a brave people "though undoubtedly inferior to the Cherokee Nation, and tinctured with many follies that we are entirely free from."[53] It was reported that he took issue with the British propensity to weigh a person's material fortune when choosing leaders, who "are reckoned worth a great deal of that shining ore [gold], which in this country passes instead of wampum." In his "interview" Ostenaco unfavorably contrasted such a system with that of American Indians who choose leaders based on skill at oratory and bravery in battle. In England, he argued, "the path to honors is lined with gold. . . . How different in this respect are they from the Americans, among whom merit is the only passage to honors."[53]

The Iroquois sachem Canassatego also became a British literary figure as the hero of John Shebbeare's *Lydia, or, Filial Piety,* published in 1755. The real Canassatego had died in 1750, shortly after he advised colonial leaders to form a federal union at the Lancaster Treaty Council of 1744. With the flowery eloquence prized by romantic novelists of his time, Shebbeare portrayed Canassatego as something more than human—something more, even, than the "Noble Savage" who was so popular in Enlightenment Europe. His Canassatego arrived in England —after having saved a helpless English maiden from the designs of a predatory English ship captain while en route—only to become judge and jury for all that was contradictory and corrupt.

Lydia's handsome Canassatego was conjured truly as a figure from another world, an all-purpose wise man, unencumbered by the otherworldly organs in strange shapes and sizes that burden some late twentieth-century extraterrestrial sages. The Onondaga sachem was, in point of historical fact, a very handsome physical specimen, "full-chested, brawney-limbed, of a manly, good-natured countenance."[54]

He was a speaker who could summon verbal thunder and capture the eyes and ears of individuals or crowds. He was not, however, quite the Greek god portrayed by Shebbeare.

> No human form was ever more graceful than that of Canassatego[,] . . . his stature six feet. . . . On his large neck his head stood erect and bold; his face was animated with features that spoke sensibility. . . . [T]he perfection of his form and expression of his visage were such that the Grecian sculptors of the famed statue of Lacoon, or the fighting gladiator, might have studied him for instruction or delight.[55]

The author provided a beautiful wife named Yarico for Canassatego, who was also portrayed as a living Greek sculpture, as well as a missionary who taught him to write English (perhaps the same missionary who taught Yarico to read). In his letters home (a necessary literary device for this story), Canassatego told Yarico, and the reader, what he really thought of this strange and barbarous land across the Great Water.

Shebbeare was not the only writer to compare the Iroquois to the ancient Romans and Greeks. Less than a decade before *Lydia* was published, Cadwallader Colden had augmented his landmark study of the Iroquois, the first systematic description of the Five Nations in English, with the same device. To see American Indians and their societies as the animus of the Golden Age was all the rage in those years, in factual and fictional accounts on both sides of the Atlantic. Shebbeare, too, believed the Iroquois had opened a window onto Europe's own simpler, more democratic past.

But what of his impressions of England? Disembarking, the fictional Canassatego was met by the following rude sight: a ragged collection of dwellings "little better than the Huts of Indians," and men rising from the bowels of the earth, dirty, broken, and degraded.[56] Asking his hosts for an explanation, Canassatego was told that the men had been digging coal. The Iroquois sachem then inquired if everyone in England mined coal for a living and reflected that he was beginning to understand why so many English had fled to America.

Subsequent encounters did little to warm Canassatego's heart to English life and government. The sachem's hosts were forced to confess that England had a class structure and that many labored for the benefit of the few.

> [Canassatego] asked if England were not a free country, where all were destined to the same employment, or if the Great Spirit had made two

> species of men, one inferior to the other, and the lesser destined to the service of the greater? . . . How can it be reconciled that Creatures born of the same land, in the same Form, and endowed with the same Faculties, should be doomed to this inhuman labour whilst others live at ease?[57]

By Shebbeare's fictional account, Canassatego came to England not only as a tourist but also to present a petition of grievances on behalf of his people. Continually frustrated in his efforts to do so, he found England's sachems to be men of small measure. The prime minister, in particular, struck him as "ungrateful, whiffling, inconsistent," a man "whose words included nothing to be understood" but "the farce and mockery of national prudence," and exasperated, he asked, "Can it be" that "this man can direct the business of a people?"[58]

After a series of snubs and rebuffs in high places, Canassatego could claim but two friends in England, Lydia and her husband—the only English possessed with "Indian souls" among the "polluted millions." He had found, much as Gulliver and the *Spectator*'s fictional Mohawks had, that most of the English had been ruined by a slave-passion to money and gold, "that yellow ore" that "changes the face of nature. All human faculties die before its influence" and "frozen is the heart."[59]

One of these "slaves" was Lady Susan Overstay, a woman of rank and breeding who was overly conscious of her lofty station in society. Faced with a windy exposition by Lady Overstay on the quality of her breeding, Canassatego replied that in his country no one was born any better than anyone else; wisdom, courage, love of family and nation, as well as other virtues of the mind and body were "the only qualities" that gave "authority and esteem among the Indians."[60] Lady Overstay did not comprehend the significance of Canassatego's words and preferred to talk about personal grooming. She asked if Iroquois ladies powdered their hair, to which Canassatego replied (presumably with a straight face) that in Onondaga, hair dressing ran to bear grease.

Returning to the political point that Lady Overstay seemed to miss, he invoked Jefferson's aristocracy of merit before it was so named.

> Madam, family creates no distinction but by its Acts of Wisdom and Valour; the Son, unequal to the Father's glory, sinks to Disgrace, and Blood knows no Honours but what Virtue bequeaths it; high and low, noble and ignoble, find no Distinction from Birth; where mental and bodily Qualities are found Superior, that Man gains authority over our Hearts, the Good he does his Country is rewarded by Glory and Esteem; such are our Indian manners and ideas.[61]

So Canassatego, speaking for America, delivered the same message to Lady Overstay that the rebellious colonists would send King George III a generation later: "All men are created equal." As a fictional character, Lady Overstay stood in for an entire royal family who was unprepared for the events that would overtake America.

Turning his back on England in disgust, Canassatego wrote to Yarico,

> The very God which they tell us they worship seems to be forgotten amongst them; the Image of the King, made on bits of yellow Metal is the sole power which they adore. . . . [A]ccording to the number each Man possesses, [it] makes him brave, honest, just, humane, and wise; this creates Sachems and Warriors, the Excellencies of Heart and Head find no reception or Preheminence [*sic*]. . . . Judge them, my Yarico, what can be expected from such Men, and such Manners, in favor of Indian nations?[62]

Sounding once again much like America's next generation of patriots (not to mention Sir Thomas's Utopians), Canassatego found "Avarice, detested Vice, engaged in one eternal Pillage; Virtue in Want labors for pampered idleness" in monarchal England.[63]

While Shebbeare described his work as history and himself as an historian, *Lydia* was obviously what is today called historical fiction, with the emphasis on fiction. Unlike Hendrick, Canassatego had never visited Europe; this did not prevent Shebbeare from borrowing the eyes of Canassatego to needle the English and their corrupt "civilization." He assured his readers that the Iroquois sachem was qualified for the job. Not only were the Iroquois known "through all the western world" for their valor and military prowess, but, according to Shebbeare, "their souls" were not "deficient" in the "milder parts of legislative knowledge. . . . Elocution, reason, truth, and probity" were not "less the characteristics of this people's knowledge."[64] However, Shebbeare seemed to have researched the real Canassatego's life relatively well. For instance, at the Lancaster Treaty Council of 1744, in addition to advising the colonists to form a federated union on the Iroquois model, Canassatego worried about the increasing dependence of his people on European manufactured goods. In *Lydia*, Shebbeare's Canassatego complained that many Native Americans had become dependent on European manufacturers—"What are we but slaves, who traverse the wide Woods of America in search of furs and skins."[65]

A generation later, Jefferson echoed the same sentiments in letters from Europe to America, using a stream of metaphors—horse and rider, hammer and anvil, wolves and sheep—to make similar points.[66] Franklin would also criticize a system that kept "multitudes below the savage state that only a few may be rais'd above it." He maintained that had "I never been in the American Colonies, but was to form my judgement of Civil Society from what I have lately seen, I would never advise a Nation of Savages to admit to Civilization."[67]

The character of Canassatego created by Shebbeare spoke eloquently about the problems plaguing Europe late in the age of monarchy. He provided a voice for people who yearned for freedom from oppressive taxation and the falseness of social convention, and from a caste system that enriched a few and impoverished many. A mere century separated this fictional Indian and the first publication of *The Communist Manifesto.*

At times this desire to attain "a state of nature" approached nihilism. *The Indians,* a stage play published in 1790 and attributed to William Richardson, professor of humanities at Glasgow University, included a conversation between Sidney, an Englishman, and Ononthio, an Indian. As so many other visitors before him had, Ononthio offered his advice to the Englishman and, through him, to the rest of Britain and the "civilized world":

> Away with your culture and refinement. . . . Ye become refined [and] ye feelings are extinguished . . . ye become unjust and perfidious; the slaves of avarice and ambition, the prey of envy, and malice. . . . Enjoy the freedom and simplicity of nature. Be guiltless—be an Indian.[68]

The figure of Hendrick lived on in English literary imagination for at least half a century beyond his death. The Mohawk sachem appeared in *Berkeley Hall, or, the Pupil of Experience,* a novel published in 1796. This was the story of Tim, a young man who escaped a complicated love life by accompanying Doctor Sourby on a search for the Noble Savage Along the way, Dr. Sourby promised Tim that they would find a land where "nature reigns in true sublimity and lovely simplicity," as unvarnished a stereotype as any English novelist ever harbored about America. "Here," pontificated Dr. Sourby, they would "meet men in their original innocence and independence, untrammeled by forms, or the yokes of ancient institutions" and "find the true nature and life of man."[69]

Deep in the wilderness, reality intruded. A party of irresolutely ignoble savages surrounded the philosopher and his young charge and prepared to lift their scalps. An old chief, Tonondoric, intervened and offered to adopt Tim to replace his own lost son, but Dr. Sourby was marked for death. "Let us sacrifice the pampered glutton, who burdens and impoverishes the earth—he who has no wind for the chase, no legs to pursue an enemy." The Indians snickered at Dr. Sourby's paunch; as he waddled through the woods, they compared the old doctor to "the unwieldy moose laboring through the snow, or the greasy bear clambering up a tree."[70] Both Tim and their slave Sancho offered to take Dr. Sourby's place at the stake but were refused. They managed to escape unharmed after supplying the Indians with a cask of rum; as soon as the Indians became deliriously inebriated, the novice explorers of a suddenly more complicated wilderness fled with Tonondoric and his rapturous daughter Ancuna.

Hendrick joined the party as it neared Berkeley Hall, New Jersey. He was Ancuna's lover and every bit as handsome as she was beautiful, and every inch the Greek god that Shebbeare styled Canassatego. Once all six reached Berkeley Hall, they engaged in all sorts of debates comparing "civilized" and "savage" societies, with Hendrick making the most telling points. "You may depend so much on horses to carry you, muskets to kill for you, glasses to see for you, and your gold to fight for you, that you may lose the use of your own legs, not be able to defend yourself with your own arms, [or] to see with your own eyes," Hendrick lectured Dr. Sourby.[71] Hendrick laughed in the face of his feeble, would-be conqueror, who was enchained by his civilization, his machines, his formalities, laws, and conventions, his false gods, and his gold. Dr. Sourby could only fidget; perhaps he wondered why he and his people, who so admired nature and natural man, were so intent on squeezing the natural vitality out of everything they touched. In spite of occasionally using the image of an Indian to critique its own "civilization," the iron conqueror pushed on, with its brass kettles, guns, smallpox, and Bibles, trying so earnestly, and often so ineptly, to remake the man of nature in the image of its own corrupt civilization.

In the meantime, Europeans continued this study in duality by imitating the "Noble Savage" in their architecture and dress. The "return to nature" movement inspired new forms of landscape architecture in England, as Londoners embraced loose-fitting garments in an attempt to "return to simplicity." The new styles were said to be healthier and more comfortable than "the compressive ligatures of modern drapery" and were possible, of course, by the mass production of cloth from cotton, another New World import.[72]

Ladies of fashion wore hats that were sold as replicas of American Indian headdress.[73] In 1776 Hannah More, an observer of English fashion, wrote that proper English ladies were wearing four or five ostrich feathers in the backs of their caps.[74] They also fancied fur, especially beaver, the most prized and expensive of which had the bristles on its undersides worn away through use by American Indians "in the wild." This rush to embrace the clothing of the Noble Savage propelled French and English trading companies to devastate the wilderness that had sustained "natural man" in America for many thousands of years.

It would only be fitting that Lady Overstay's beaver had been worn by an Indian in the wild, and that she had worn it as Canassatego criticized her rank and station—indeed, her entire society. It was at this moment that American observation and imagination were helping to turn former Europeans in America into rebellious seekers after liberty—an ideal mirrored in the very images imagined by the creators of the "Noble Savage."

4

ENNOBLING "SAVAGES"

Native America in European natural-rights philosophy

Natural freedom is the only object of the polity of the savages; with this freedom do nature and climate rule alone amongst them. . . . [T]hey maintain their freedom and find abundant nourishment . . . [and are] people who live without laws, without police, without religion.

—Jean Jacques Rousseau[1]

Since 1492, European philosophy has been profoundly influenced by the values of people found in the Americas, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. For instance, Montesquieu, in his *Spirit of the Laws,* made use of African, Arab, Persian, East Indian, and Chinese concepts in his discussions on forms of government.[2] During the "Age of Discovery," Europeans not only explored a world new to them, but, in addition to helping themselves to its material riches, also opened their eyes to its new ways of thinking. The Old World was profoundly changed by these intellectual imports. The image of the "Noble Savage" was created from the cloth of European wish-fulfillment, fashioned into intellectual garments by European philosophers, and often returned to the land of its birth. Native societies, especially those found in America, reminded Europeans of the imagined golden worlds of their own folk history. Specifically, Jack Forbes had contended that

> [w]ith the writings of Rousseau, [and] Voltaire . . . we might suggest that the traditional folk democracy of parts of Europe became viable again when merged with the actual knowledge that there were functioning democratic/communalistic societies in the world.[3]

This rebirth of freedom and modern democratic ideals began in "Native American wigwams because it was only in America" that Europeans from 1500 to 1776 found living examples of "truly free" societies. Although the lack of recognition of American Indian intellectual influences, which dominates current history, is a "cardinal act of faith in European superiority," Forbes has stated that "many Europeans reject all or part of the dominant European heritage" and have "adopted democratic and environmentalist tendencies."[4]

As the seventeenth century ended, some two hundred thousand European colonists lived in widely scattered settlements along North America's eastern seaboard. Travel narratives from America flooded Europe, each with its own mixture of fact and speculation, reality and desire, which described a continent seen by Europeans for the first time. Shakespeare's plays were just then being staged in England, and John Locke had just published his most influential work, which described relations between the individual and the state under "natural law." From the street, to the stage, to the salon, America was the talk of the day.

The assumption that American democracy evolved solely from the example of the English parliament or under the influence of European political thinkers must be tempered with the realization that writers such as Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau derived many of their ideas about modern democracy from travelers' accounts of American Indian governmental structures. Native societies were working democracies that drew the attention, and often the admiration, of Europeans and Euro-Americans from the time of the first contacts. However, at the very same time that the Noble Savage was idealized in philosophy, his real-life counterparts were slaughtered to make way for "progress." That people deemed expendable could so profoundly shape European and colonial American thinking points to some of this period's confusing contradictions.

The Noble Savage was an apparition created by European imagination, of course, but as with any racial stereotype, it revealed as much about the very real drives, perceptions, dreams, and desires of its creators as it did about the newly "discovered" Americans. The Noble Savage may have been a creature of imagination, but its influence on European philosophy was very real, especially during the Enlightenment years, which culminated in the American and French revolutions.

As was the case with most stereotypes, the Noble Savage simplified a complex reality. It created an image that was, paradoxically, both more and less a reflection of reality—more, because it ascribed to the natives more life, liberty, and happiness than many of them actually possessed and created the myth of the autonomous wild man of the woods, which ignored the very real social conventions and traditions by which Native Americans ordered their lives; and less, because this image combined many dozens of peoples and their various belief systems into one generic whole. Distance distorted the reality of the image even more. Thus, the image of the Indian created by Rousseau or Locke was more fantastical than that of Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and other influential founders of the United States who did diplomatic business with American native people in the course of their daily lives. These days, the Noble Savage is usually dismissed as a racist figment of imagination; however, this ignores the power the image held in the Enlightenment mind and the impact of its appeal on influential thinkers of the time. We must remind ourselves that Locke and Franklin saw the world through their own eyes, not ours.

Europeans came to America in reality or only in imagination, seeking degrees of material well-being, which ranged from subsistence to extravagance, as well as more intangible benefits (most having to do with some incarnation of freedom). Conveniently, and perhaps not surprisingly, the immigrants found America and its native peoples to be rich in both. They did, of course, encounter opposition to the exploitation of America's riches. Thus, the Noble Savage found its opposite in the "bad Indian" who stood in the way of the destruction, by economic development, of the natural state so admired by European philosophers. Imagine building churches in the Garden of Eden.

Many of the most prominent thinkers in Europe and America exploited the intellectual bounty of the New World, in one way or another, during the three centuries following Columbus's voyages—each according to a specific conception of the past and design for the future. As a vehicle for dreams, the Noble Savage helped reawaken Europeans to a passionate desire for liberty and happiness, which so suffused Enlightenment thought that it ignited revolution on both sides of the Atlantic. Images can do such things to reality, even when their influence is denied. For instance, although William Brandon found that Voltaire laughed at any talk of Noble Savages, his "fake Huron in *L'Ingenu* (1767) sometimes echoed, and not always ironically, both Lahontan and Delisle, in spite of all Voltaire's efforts to keep him from doing so. . . . Voltaire mocked . . . himself for falling victim to such nonsense—'My muse calls to you from America[, he complained]. . . . I needed a new world. . . . But I tremble that I'll be taken for a savage.' "[5] At the same time, on the other side of the Atlantic, Franklin, the ultimate pragmatist, often found himself called by the same muse.

The French philosopher and essayist Montaigne has been most often credited with introducing the image of native America and the Noble Savage to the European world of letters (although a reading of literature produced by Spain's Golden Century can provide earlier precedents).[6] Montaigne penned his vision of utopia, which is reminiscent of Sir Thomas More's fictional account, after hearing the stories of a traveler who had been in the New World for roughly a decade. "Of Cannibals" set a culturally relativistic tone by asserting that "there is nothing that is either barbarous or savage, unless men call barbarism that which is not common to them"[7]—a sentiment similar to Franklin's "Remarks Concerning the Savages of North America" a century later. To Montaigne, America's native people were civilized in the purest, simplest, and freest sense. They lived in the original state of humankind, the state of nature, which was the embodiment of "the most true and profitable virtues."[8]

He also measured natural man in America against the ancient heroes of Europe's imagined Golden Age and expressed the wish that Plato and Lycurgus could have met the Noble Savage themselves.

> For me seemeth that what in those nations we see of experience, doth not only exceed all the pictures herewith licentious Poesie hath profoundly embellished the golden age . . . but also the conception and desire of Philosophy. They could not imagine a genuine so pure and simple, as we see by experience.[9]

Pure, simple, free: Three short but potent words summed up Native Americans for the Enlightenment and provided the framework for the debate that spawned revolutions. Whether the founders of the United States were inspired by European sages or the living examples before them, it was Native American humankind who provided the perfect vehicle by which to criticize contemporary European society and, in so doing, helped shape the images, desires, and dreams of those in rebellion.

Montaigne's Indians lived in their own Eden, even lacking the very words for "lying, falsehood, treason," and "envy." Their bountiful land had a temperate climate and very little illness or deformity, not "palsie, toothlesse" or "eies dropping, or crooked." Their language was musical, recalling "the Greek terminations."[10] Montaigne sounded a little like Gulliver on his return from the land of the Houyhnhnms; the French philosopher's witnesses were real, however, and his "other world" occupied by human beings.

Montaigne's portrait was overdrawn, of course. At the same time as he extolled their virtues, he contended that Native Americans "hath no kind of traffick, no knowledge of magistrates, no knowledge of Letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superiorite; no use of service, of riches, or of poverty, no contracts, no successions."[11] If "traffick" can be taken to mean trade and commercial relations, then Indian nations possessed it, although not through the likes of the East India Company. North America was crisscrossed by trails (many twentieth-century interstate highways follow these routes), which were used by indigenous peoples to carry on small-scale trade across much of the continent. Many native peoples in the Americas had a form of written communication, although Europeans often did not recognize it as such; the wampum belts, which "recorded" the Iroquois Great Law of Peace, utilized written symbols. The Mayas, of course, invented the concept of negative numbers long before this and passed the mathematical concept to the Aztecs, so it may be fairly said that "no intelligence of numbers" misses the mark. Chieftainships were sometimes inherited, although not in the European sense of a crown passing from head to predesignated head. Native Americans did make contracts (in the sense that promises were kept), although not usually in writing, unless Europeans were involved.

For all his erroneous assumptions, Montaigne's stereotype illuminated the essence of a spirit that intrigued generation after generation of philosophers and revolutionaries. Most importantly, he acknowledged that Native Americans lived in "nations," which meant that they must have had social and political relations. The character of these relations and the assumptions underlying them contrasted sharply with a Europe dominated by class and monarchy. While their social and political systems were not perfectly egalitarian, they were much more democratic than the societies from which the English and French colonists had come. The workings of such societies excited a tremendous curiosity in people searching for alternatives to monarchy.

Montaigne actually met and tried to converse with three American natives visiting the court of King Charles IX. Although hindered by an uncomprehending interpreter, Montaigne surmised that France perplexed the visitors. They asked the same questions that the fictional versions of Canassatego and Hendrick would later direct to their English audiences and that American Indians of Franklin's time would ask about Europe: Why are some French "full-gorged with all sorts of commodities," while others are "hunger starved, and bare with need and povertie?"[12] Nearly as soon as Europeans opened their eyes on America, the Noble Savage began expressing an opinion about every European-bred disease, deprivation, and depravity, touching all that was imperfect and familiar with the magic wand of novelty, which had the power to turn civilization to nature and the real to the ideal.

The English had been watching America unfold before their eyes for more than a century when John Locke, inspired by the political examples of the peoples of the Americas, published *Two Treatises on Government*. Writing just two years after England's revolution of 1688, he emphasized that "natural peoples" lived in a state of liberty, but not license.

> We must consider what state all men are naturally in, and that is a state of near perfect freedom, to order their actions and dispose of their possessions and persons, as they see fit, within the bounds of the law of nature . . . a state also of equality, wherein all power and jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than another; there being nothing more evident than that creatures of the same species and rank . . . born to the same advantages of nature, and the use of the same faculties, should also be equal one amongst another.
>
> But though this is a state of liberty, yet it is not a state of license. . . . [T]he state of nature has a law of nature to govern it, which obliges every one, and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind, who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions.[13]

Locke spoke the language of America, using the words of Roger Williams, who came before him (and presaging those of Jefferson, who followed), and the images of the New World brought back to Europe by missionaries, traders, and other travelers. All were part of the same transatlantic current of ideas that helped reshape the political face of Europe as well as that of the New World. Without the native peoples of the New World, the conceptions of "natural law" and "natural rights," which so empowered eighteenth-century revolutionary movements, might never have been born; at the very least, they would have taken a very different form.

A central tenet of Locke's philosophy was the concept of a "community of government," whose formation was the only means by which "natural men" left the natural state. He illustrated this natural state with the living example of the American Indians. "In the beginning," wrote Locke, "all the world was America."[14] While he believed that humankind's natural existence was one of peace, goodwill, and mutual assistance, he also stated that convenience and God made people inclined to gather into groups; language and understanding further facilitated the formation of these groups. The missing component for human beings in a natural state was a settled, established common law, enforced by properly delegated authorities. With such arguments, Locke pointed out the imperfections in his own native land (particularly the "divine right" arguments of James II), and proposed a new vision of society that was grounded in his reflections on humankind's natural state.

According to Locke, whenever a number of people unite in one society to form one body politic under one supreme government, they enter into a social contract whereby they relinquish their individual executive power.[15] It is important to understand that the experiential process detailed here is very similar to the formation of the social contract embodied in the Great Law of the Iroquois Confederacy, with at least one critical distinction. Locke's ideas were unacceptable to the autocratic Europe of the late seventeenth century, while the Iroquois had lived in such a democratic state for centuries.

The social contract theory of Locke excluded absolute monarchy, since it was inconsistent with the basis for a civil society. If a prince held both legislative and executive powers, there could be no appeals process. In such absolute monarchies of the "civilized" world, the subject became the ruler's slave, and Locke felt that no one should be subjected to the political power of another without his or her consent. When people formed a society by the consent of the individuals within it, they entered into an agreement to follow the dictates of the majority. Although unanimity may have been nearly impossible, a measure of it could be obtained through debate and a balancing of opinions. Locke asserted that all governments of the world that had their beginnings in times of peace were instituted by the consent of the people.[16] He pointed to the example of American Indians, whose "kings" were not much more than "generals" and had only "moderate sovereignty" in times of peace. Locke added that decisions of peace and war were vested "ordinarily either in the people, or in a council."[17]

Were it not for the corruption and viciousness of degenerate human beings, there would be no need for any society but that derived from the state of nature. To Locke the great and main necessity for uniting into groups was the mutual protection and preservation of the lives, liberties, and estates (property) of the people. He reasoned that property and the organized state were the sources of social cohesion.[18] The inclusion of private property in the social contract was one of the major differences between Locke's theories and the Great Law of Peace of the Iroquois, since individual property rights were certainly not a major concern of the peoples of the Six Nations. It is worthy of note that Jefferson substituted "happiness" (an idea he and Franklin found exemplified in indigenous American societies) for the Lockean "property" in the American trilogy of natural rights in the Declaration of Independence.

The English philosopher postulated that power was not only supreme but sacred and unalterable when placed in the hands of the people's legislative body, whose primary function was the preservation of society for the public good. Because this legislature's powers were limited to those that promote the public good, it could not have absolute control and authority over the lives of the people. After establishment of a legislature, Locke believed, the laws of nature did not cease to operate in society but stand as eternal rules for all humankind, including legislators. Consequently, the legislative power had no right to enslave, destroy, or impoverish its subjects. Government could not rule by arbitrary decree and edict; enduring laws were necessary. Locke also enjoined the legislature from taking property without a subject's consent or levying taxes without the consent of the majority. Finally, the legislative or supreme governmental body could not delegate its powers of lawmaking to another's hands. The legislative body, not the prince, was the heart of the commonwealth, and its power embodied the will of the people. The citizens were the only judge of a government's capability to act in society's interests.[19]

Locke's political philosophy was not without practical implementation. In 1669, he incorporated some of his egalitarian ideals in the first constitution of the Carolinas. King Charles II had granted the Carolinas to a number of English nobles, including Locke's patron, the Earl of Shaftesbury.[20] Surprisingly, the document did not have as democratic a spirit as some of Locke's other works.

Locke's intellectual critique was part of the Old World's political and philosophic struggle to throw off the trappings of absolute monarchy and its consequent abuses. The tribal societies of North America seemed to be free of such abuses. There were many colonists who came to North America who had democratic viewpoints and who, undoubtedly, realized that the government of England offered, at best, only an imperfect reflection of freedom. To the European observer, the Iroquois people had not only freedom but a kinship state that insured the consent of the governed.

By the end of the seventeenth century, European philosophy, literature, and popular culture reflected a great deal of fascination with Indian ways. For instance, Baron Lahontan published a dialogue between himself and Adario, "a noted man Among the savages" in 1694. Lahontan's work was quickly translated from French into English because of its widespread popularity. The alleged purpose of the dialogue was to reveal Christian truths to Adario, a Huron; however, its real intent was to critique European society (especially that of France) and its coercive laws. Indeed, the key to the popularity of both the *Jesuit Relations,* which was widely read in France, and Lahontan's "Dialogue," which found its way into all of Europe, was their examination of European hypocrisy. On several occasions, Adario, the cosmopolitan Indian, advised Lahontan to "take my advice and turn *Huron*."[21] Adario pointed out (inaccurately) that in French society the "Great Lords" were slaves to their king, who was the only Frenchman to partake of "that adorable Liberty which he alone enjoys."[22] In a similar manner, the Jesuits popularized stories among the French about Noble Savages, nonmaterialistic people who possessed dignity and rights that were distinct from the powers of the state. In the era of divine-right monarchies, this was a radical concept for Europeans. The Jesuits also reported on the strong family life of the American Indians and noted that the Iroquois "constituted but one family."[23]

Fascination with American Indian freedom did not end with Locke and Lahontan in the seventeenth century, although it took a different turn in the work of the eighteenth-century French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau. The Enlightenment deified knowledge, the sciences, the arts, progress, and civilization and boasted of these achievements of man. This intellectual smugness was destined to be shaken. Rousseau believed that the sciences and the arts were the fruits of indolence and luxury as well as a source of moral decay. He boldly asserted that man was, by nature, good and innocent; therefore, morality was not the product of rational thought but of natural feeling. He reasoned that one's worth depended not on intellect but on one's moral nature, the core of which was feeling. According to Rousseau, goodwill alone had absolute value, with sentiment playing an important role in mental life. He denied that the development of reason brought about the perfection of man.

If men were equal by nature, he argued, then society, through private property, had subverted that equality. Eighteenth-century society had masters and slaves, cultured and uncultured, rich and poor—all byproducts of reasoned thought. Hence, Western civilization had corrupted humankind's natural inclinations. Rousseau took personal pride that, although he was well known "throughout all of Europe," he had preserved his "primitive simplicity."[24] With a penetrating logic, he said that the products of corruption were the slavish and lordly vices: envy and hatred on the one hand, and contempt, cruelty, and arrogance on the other. Such vices made life and society artificial and mechanical. Rousseau boldly concluded that since the origin of virtues and vices was to be found in social and political institutions, the only path to the improvement of society was to be found in simplifying it.[25]

For Rousseau, an examination of American Indian societies provided such an example.

> Natural freedom is the only object of the polity of the savages; with this freedom do nature and climate rule alone amongst them. . . . [T]hey maintain their freedom and find abundant nourishment . . . [and are] people who live without laws, without police, without religion.[26]

Rousseau believed that the state of political and social life in native America represented "the real youth of the world."[27] Rousseau's concept of the Noble Savage was more of a hypothesis based on accounts of aboriginal tribes around the world, rather than a reality based on his observations of people living in the original state of nature. The French philosopher's Noble Savage was a social and political fiction created to enable his readers to understand an aspect of human nature that was operative at all times.

Rousseau sought to isolate the essence and instinctive nature of man by departing from human nature as it was constituted in civilized societies and by eliminating the influence of education and social intercourse. In doing so, he found that the essential nature of human beings was embodied in immediate feeling and that beneath all the intellectual activity, science, art, and other artificialities of civilization, it was feeling that bound people to a common purpose.[28]

This realization came long ago to the founders of the Iroquois Confederacy, Deganawidah and Hiawatha, as they discussed the need to bind their people into a kinship state through the Condolence Ceremony. In the Iroquois Requickening Address of the Condolence Ceremony, Deganawidah salved Hiawatha's grief for his dead relatives by saying, "I wipe away the tears from thy face . . . now shalt thou do thy thinking in peace." After restoring good feelings, Deganawidah told Hiawatha, "Reason has returned; thy judgment is firm again."[29]

Rousseau and the Iroquois had come to similar conclusions, although for very different reasons and by very different methods: Rousseau, through philosophic inquiry aimed at criticizing French society and government; and the Iroquois, through strife and grief, which they resolved under the Great Tree of Peace.

Rousseau's "return to nature" was not a naive plea to turn back the clock but an attempt to reawaken, within the framework of a society, the sentiments and feelings that are necessary to nurture social justice and equality. He wished to humanize governments and institutions in order to form just and democratic societies.[30] He believed that "nothing" was "more gentle than man in his primitive state," at equal distance from the brutes and the "fatal ingenuity of civilized man." In analyzing the primitive state, Rousseau recalled an axiom of the "wise Locke," which advised that there could be "no injury" where there was "no property."[31]

Rousseau differed from Locke in that he advocated direct rather than representative government. He demanded political rights and free thought for all people, taking the Lockean ideal of democracy seriously. If all men were created free and equal, he reasoned, with the same natural rights and capacities, then no rationale existed for rule or inheritance by the privileged classes.

Education was the key to the creation of Rousseau's natural society. The Noble Savage surrendered his absolute freedom only through a social contract in which he gained the liberty of citizenship and the freedom to comply with self-imposed laws. Education, according to Rousseau, consisted primarily of removing unfavorable conditions so that a society's children could learn to distinguish between good and evil.[32] In the final analysis, the tools for improving humankind were the social environment and education.

North American Indians were a symbol of freedom to another French philosopher, Voltaire. Borrowing from Gabriel Sagard's work, Voltaire wrote a critique of French autocracy and hypocrisy, "The Huron, or Pupil of Nature," which was told through the eyes of a Huron. On the eve of the American Revolution, Voltaire's Huron proclaimed to his French companions that he "was born free as the air."[33]

European philosophers functioned essentially as their nations' early industries—importing raw materials from Native America (and other tribal societies around the world), packaging them, and then exporting them around the world as natural-rights philosophy. The industries dealt with commodities, while Europe's philosophers manufactured ideas; this process often transformed the raw materials into their opposites. For example, the European's obsession with private property and land, supported, especially, by Locke's philosophy, proved to be a major point of disagreement and friction between the two cultures. In fact, the controversy as to whether real freedom can be secured through other means than the communal ownership of property continues today. At the time of European contact, the Iroquois Confederacy was already established as a free tribal society, which practiced economic and political democracy. Thus, it served as a beacon of freedom for European nations that were still grappling with the concepts of peace and freedom in theory rather than practice.

It was only natural that a political analyst such as Baron Lahontan would use an American Indian voice to criticize the European system of autocracy and divine-right monarchies. From such accounts, Montesquieu could then conclude that "all countries have a law of nations," including the Iroquois, "for they send and receive ambassadors" and they "understand the rights of war and peace."[34] Wilderness diplomats such as Franklin witnessed the Condolence Ceremony and were exposed to the Great Law of the Iroquois during the same time that they read Rousseau's *Social Contract* and other works by European philosophers. In England a political thinker such as Locke knew that ''no such thing as money'' was known among American natives, based on his reading of Gabriel Sagard's travel account entitled *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons* (a work that also influenced Voltaire).[35] The interchange of ideas and examples between Europe and America provided ''a laboratory for testing and elaborating theories of the Enlightenment.''[36]

The influence of the ideas of the Iroquois and other native peoples of eastern North America stretched from the western frontiers of the English colonies to the centers of European learning. Americans such as Franklin and Jefferson were at the center of this intellectual ferment. Montesquieu, Rousseau, Voltaire, and Locke influenced the American and French revolutions and were a vital intellectual link between Europe and North America, which paralleled the economic ties that bound the Indian and European together in the eighteenth century.

The transatlantic flow of ideas, which reformulated conceptions of how societies should be ordered, raises some fascinating questions that may be forever matters of debate: How accurate were travel accounts such as Sagard's in their descriptions of native societies; what was the proportion of wish-fulfillment to actual knowledge in their accounts of how these societies actually operated; and, did the mixture of fact and fantasy even matter, since the Europeans who made the New World into a metaphor for liberty absolutely believed what they thought they saw? A political idea does not have to be entirely accurate—nor knowledge of it absolutely complete—to have a profound influence on the course of intellectual history.

Our next stop on this journey of ideas takes us back across the Atlantic to the New World, where Roger Williams combined concepts of religious and political liberty that he had brought with him from England with what he found among the native peoples of New England and, in so doing, engendered debates that would echo a century after his death as America exploded in revolution.

5

ERRAND IN THE WILDERNESS

Roger Williams and "soul liberty"

I've known them to leave their house and mat
To lodge a friend or stranger
When Jews and Christians oft have sent
Jesus Christ to the Manger

Oft have I heard these Indians say
These English will deliver us
Of all that's ours, our lands and lives
In the end, they'll bereave us.

—Roger Williams[1]

Roger Williams—"first rebel against the divine church-order,"[2] "morning star in the galaxy of the American great."[3] During his life he was excoriated as a carrier of intellectual infections; after his death he was hailed as the first flower of Enlightenment's spring. Roger Williams—the first North American revolutionary (at least the first of European extraction).

Williams's ideas, although couched mainly in a religious context, engendered a passionate debate regarding political and religious liberty, on both sides of the Atlantic, which would frame the ideology of the American Revolution more than a century later. As many of the United States' founders later did, Williams often used his perceptions of American Indians and their societies as a reference point in his search for an alternative to the European status quo. Educated at London's Charterhouse School and Cambridge University, Williams was one of the Puritans' best and brightest when he emigrated to America. But he was cast out of Puritania after asserting the right of the native peoples of America, as well as dissident colonists, to "soul liberty." He founded Providence Plantations, which later became Rhode Island, as a refuge (at least at its inception) for free-thinkers. Here he attempted to implement his ideas of soul liberty, political freedom, and economic equality, an experiment that presaged the later colonial revolution.

Like many Puritans, Williams originally came to America "longing after the natives' soules."[4] More than most, Williams's errand in the wilderness helped shape his predispositions toward freedom. Within a few months of his arrival in Boston in 1631, he had learned the Algonquian language and would soon master the dialects of the Showatuck, Nipmuck, Narragansett, and others. His oratorical flourish and compassion won him the esteem of the Puritan congregations at Plymouth and Salem as well as the native peoples of the area, all of whom sought his "love and counsel."[5]

It was not Williams's quick mastery of native languages that alarmed the Puritan soul-soldiers. What landed him in hot ecclesiastical water was what he learned from the native peoples as he picked up their languages and how he used that knowledge. Asked by William Bradford to compose a paper on the compact that established the Puritan colony in America, Williams began by declaring that the agreement was invalid. How, he asked, could the Puritans claim the land by "right of discovery" when it was already inhabited? Furthermore, he argued that the Puritans had no right to deny the Indians their own religious or governmental authories, either divine or secular.[6] Soon the authorities began transferring him from pulpit to pulpit, as they fretted over how easily he won friends, not only among colonists but among the native peoples as well.

Those friendships would be used to his advantage a few years later when Williams founded Providence Plantations. One such friendship was with Massasoit, a sachem among the Wampanoags (also called Pokanokets) and a man described by Bradford in 1621 as "lustie" and "in his best years." He had an "able body grave of countenance, spare of speech, strong" and "tall."[7] Williams met Massasoit when the latter was about thirty years old, and, in Williams's words, they became "great friends."[8] Massasoit, father of Metacom, favored friendly relations with the English colonists when he became the Wampanoags' most influential leader, about 1632. Williams also became close to Canonicus, an elderly leader of the Narragansett who regarded him as a son. Williams often traveled in the forest for days at a time with these friends, learning what he could of their languages, societies, and opinions, and drinking in experiences that would help lay the intellectual groundwork for his model commonwealth.

By 1635, Williams was openly arguing that the church had no right to compel membership or contributions by force of law. With this argument, the kernel of church-state separation, he struck at the heart of the assumption that the Puritan church should subsume the state. Taxes were levied to pay ministers; a law passed in 1631 made church membership a requirement for holding public office. Magistrates enforced the first four of the Ten Commandments. Williams contended that the church had no such rights and, furthermore, that civil authorities could not make allegiance to the church part of the colony's oath of citizenship. He defended the rights of the area's original inhabitants as well as those of the colonists who did not wish to conform to Puritan doctrine. "Natural men," as Williams called the native peoples, should not and could not be forced "to the exercise of those holy Ordinances of Prayers" and "Oathes."[9]

Williams argued for a more personal religion; his concept resembled those of Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and others who reacted to the state-church power alliances in Europe by insuring the separation of ecclesiastical and secular authority in the new United States. Williams espoused a religion that was closer to native conceptions of faith than the Puritanism under which he was raised. As early as 1624, Joseph Le Caron had reminded his Recollect brethren that no "savage" had ever killed a Christian for religious reasons.[10] Native Americans held no star chambers nor carried out inquisitions to compel obedience to any particular sachem's version of the Great Spirit's wisdom. Indians fought with each other for many reasons, none of which were religious. Williams shared the belief that there was nothing more absurd than killing in the name of eternal peace and love. He likened society to a ship carrying many kinds of people, each of whom valued his or her own opinions enough to debate but not to fight. It was in this spirit that Williams argued against coercion of the soul and for beauty in diversity.

By January 1635, the Puritans' more orthodox magistrates had decided that Williams must be exiled to England, jailed if possible, and certainly silenced. They opposed exiling Williams to the wilderness, as they feared he might begin his own settlement from which his "infections" would spread back into Puritan settlements. Not all Puritans wanted Williams shut up so quickly. Governor John Winthrop, for one, secretly aided plans by Williams and his confederates to establish a new colony. Winthrop's reasons were many; to begin with, the colony needed accurate intelligence about and diplomatic liaison with the Indians, both of which Williams could provide. On a more theoretical level, Winthrop was among those Puritans who wished to find out whether a colony established on principles of soul liberty and political democracy could work or whether it would dissolve into atheistic anarchy. Later in his life, Williams recalled that "upon the express advice of your ever-honored Mr. Winthrop, deceased, I first adventured to begin a plantation among the thickest of these barbarians."[11]

Despite this support, a summons was issued for Williams's arrest, but he stalled the authorities by contending that he was too ill to withstand an ocean voyage. He was able to buy time for himself and his associates to complete the plans for their new colony. Williams already had arranged with Canonicus for a tract of land large enough to support a colony, although Canonicus would not accept money in payment for the land. "It was not price or money that could have purchased Rhode Island," Williams later wrote. "Rhode Island was purchased by love."[12] Williams was allowed to remain in Salem until the spring of 1636 on the condition that he refrain from preaching.

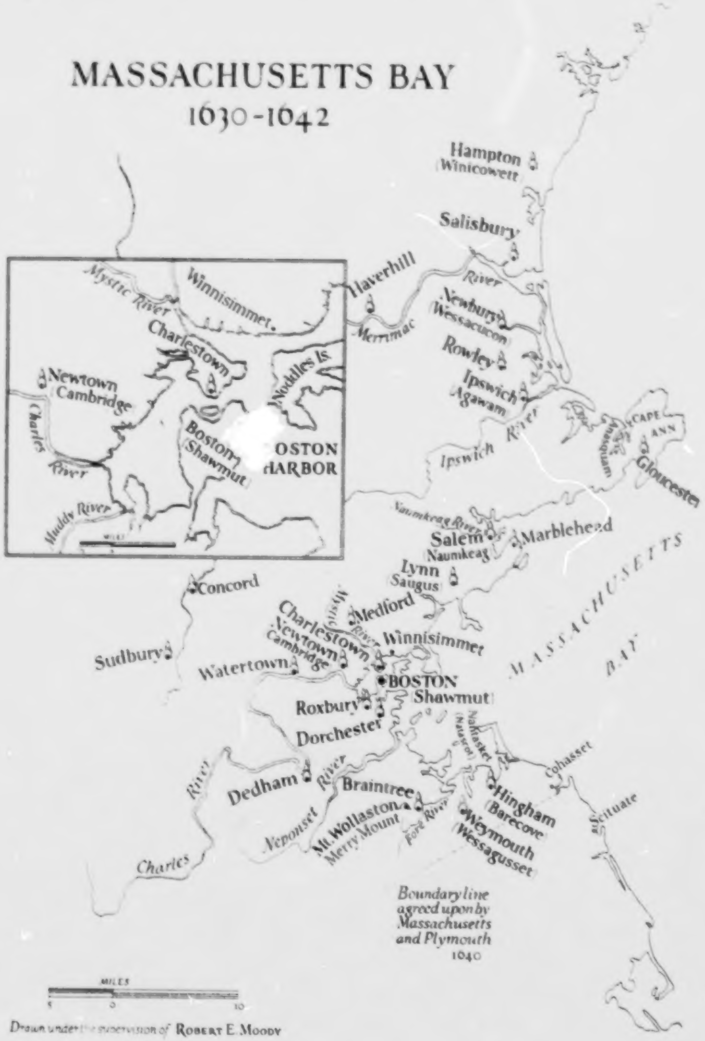
The magistrates learned, however, that Williams was holding meetings of more than twenty people at a time in his house. So, on or about 15 January 1636, Captain Underhill was dispatched from Boston to arrest Williams and place him on board a ship bound for England. When they arrived at his home, Underhill and his deputies found that Williams had escaped and that no one in the neighborhood would admit to having seen him leave. Aware of his impending arrest, Williams had set out three days earlier during a blinding blizzard, walking south by west to the lodge of Massasoit at Mount Hope. He made this eighty-to-ninety-mile journey during the worst of a New England winter and suffered immensely; it was likely that he would have died without Indian aid. In fact, almost half a century later, near death, Williams wrote that his body still bore "the effects of that winter's exposure."[13] Near the end of his trek, Williams lodged with Canonicus and his family and scouted the land set aside for the new colony.

Week by week, month by month, Williams's family and friends filtered south from Plymouth and Salem. By spring, houses were being erected, and fields were being turned. The growing group also began the construction of an experimental government. For the first time among English-speaking people in America, an attempt was made to establish a social order based on liberty of conscience and other natural rights.

Very quickly, Williams's house became a transcultural meeting place, where as many as fifty Indians at a time—travelers, traders, or sachems on their way to or from treaty conferences—were lodged. If a Puritan needed to contact an Indian, or vice versa, he or she more than likely did so with Williams's aid. Among Indian nations at odds with each other, he became "a quencher of . . . fires."[14] When the

Massachusetts Bay 1630-1642

[Source: James T. Adams, ed., *Atlas of American History* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1943)]


MASSACHUSETTS BAY
1630-1642
Hampton
Winicowett
Salisbury
Haverhill
Merrimac
River
Newbury
Wessacucon
Rowley
Ipswich
Agawam
Ipswich River
CAPE ANN
Annisquam
Gloucester
Naumkeag River
Salem
Naumkeag
Marblehead
Lynn
Saugus
MASSACHUSETTS BAY
Concord
Sudbury
Medford
Mystic River
Charlestown
Newtown
Cambridge
Winnisimmet
Watertown
BOSTON
Shawmut
Roxbury
Dorchester
Nantasket
(Natascot)
Cohasset
Scituate
Dedham
River
Braintree
Hingham
Barecove
Mt. Wollaston
Merry Mount
Fore River
Weymouth
Wessagusset
Neponset
Charles
River
Boundary line agreed upon by Massachusetts and Plymouth 1640
Mystic River
Winnisimmet
Charlestown
Noddles Is.
Newtown
Cambridge
Charles River
Boston
Shawmut
BOSTON HARBOR
Muddy River
MILES
5
0
10

Drawn under the supervision of Robert E. Moody

FIGURE 7.

Rhode Island & Providence Plantations 1636-1665

[Source: Adams, Atlas of American History]

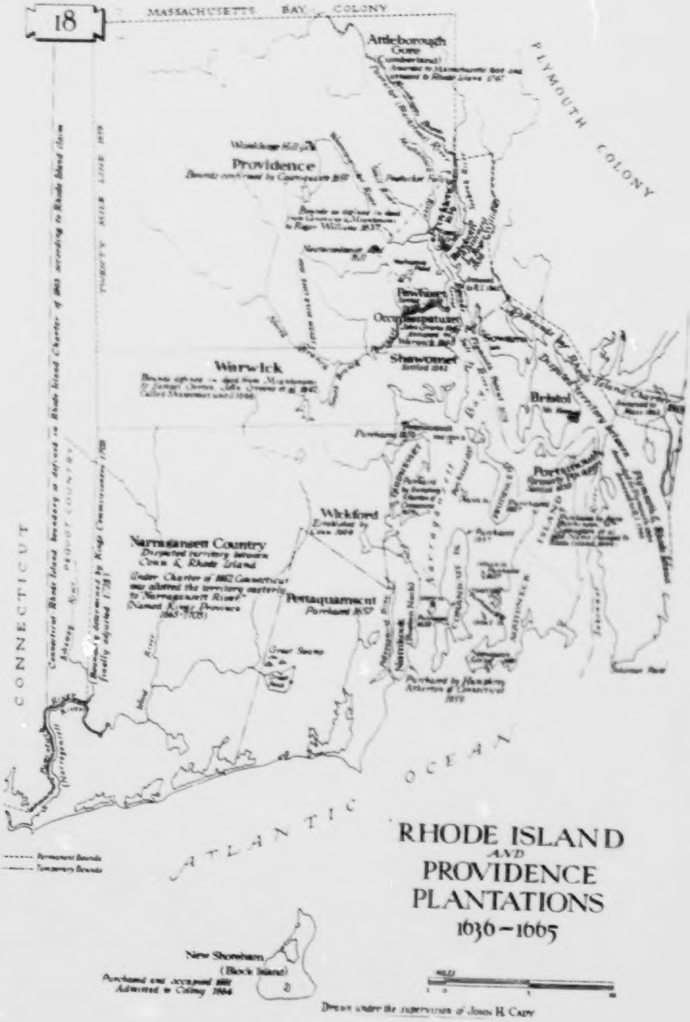

18
MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY
PLYMOUTH COLONY
CONNECTICUT
Attleborough Gore
(Cumberland)
Providence
Warwick
Shawomet
Bristol
Portsmouth
Wickford
Narragansett Country
Disputed territory between Conn. & Rhode Island
Under Charter of 1662 Connecticut was allotted the territory easterly to "Narragansett River" (Named Kings Province 1665-1720)
Pettaquamscut
Purchased 1657
Great Swamp
ATLANTIC OCEAN
RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS 1636–1665
New Shoreham
(Block Island)
Purchased and occupied 1661
Admitted to Colony 1664
Drawn under the supervision of John H. Cady

FIGURE 8.

citizens of Portsmouth needed an Indian agent, they approached Williams, and, after 1636, the Dutch did the same. Williams often traveled with Canonicus or Massasoit and their warriors, lodging with them in the forest. The Narragansett council sometimes used Williams's house for its meetings.

Williams seemed happiest when he made friends out of old enemies and unhappiest when former friends fought. On a cold, rainy Monday, 16 September 1638, he set out on a hundred-mile walk with Massasoit from Narragansett Bay to Hartford to cement an alliance with the Mohegans. Williams rarely took the time to write about such details of his daily life. How fascinating it would have been to read about what he saw, heard, and said during that hundred-mile walk and the three nights spent in woods thick with scrub, burnished by the rich colors of early autumn. Even though he did not keep a personal journal, Williams did a great deal of writing: letters to Winthrop and others, which spanned many years; tracts; and several books ranging in subject matter from descriptions of Indian languages to debates over fine points of theology. He rarely included personal accounts and seemed to have trouble finding time to write even those things he felt must be committed to paper. His writing often rushed on, full of grammatical and spelling errors, which stood out even at a time when English was not yet standardized.

In spite of the great amount of time he spent with his Native American friends and the rich lessons he learned from them, Williams retained many of his English habits and tastes. Unlike Thomas Morton before him or William Johnson after him, Williams never dressed the part—his adoption of native culture never left the intellectual plane. He neither donned war paint nor danced ceremonially. While he would lodge with Indian people and eat their food when called upon to do so, he did not seem to enjoy forsaking his English mattress for a bed of straw and blankets. He did not court Indian women. To his last, Williams, a carrier of so many intellectual infections, was a Puritan Englishman in his manners and dress.

However, Williams was quick to defend the native inhabitants' right to live and worship as they saw fit. He did his best, as well, to act as he thought everyone should, according every person equal respect no matter what they wore or what manner of deity (if any) they worshiped. Williams more than once pointed out that although he personally detested professing Quakers, they still were free to live and work in Providence Plantations—this at a time when they would have been locked in Boston's stocks at the very least, or sent into exile or hanged. Providence and its nearby settlements soon became a haven for dissenters from all of New England.

William Wood, in his *New England's Prospect,* characterized the Narragansett as "the most numerous people in those parts, and the most rich also, and the most industrious, being a storehouse of all kinds . . . of merchandise," including wampum fashioned into bracelets and pendants for trade with many other Indian nations.[15] They also made smoking pipes, which were "much desired by our English tobacconists for their rarity, strength, handsomeness, and coolness."[16] According to Wood's account, the Narragansett had never desired "to take part in any martial enterprise. But being incapable of a jeer," they remained "secure under the conceit of their popularity," and sought "to grow rich by industry" rather than "famous by deeds of chivalry."[17] In this fashion, the Narragansett built a confederacy in which they supervised the affairs of about thirty thousand Indians from Narragansett Bay on the east to the Pawcatuck River on the west (see figure 9).[18] Their large numbers, which included about four thousand men of warrior age in the early seventeenth century, usually prevented other native nations from attacking them.

When word reached Boston that the Pequots were rallying other Indian nations to drive the Massachusetts Bay colonists into the sea, the Massachusetts Council sent urgent pleas to Williams to use his "utmost and speediest Endeavors" to keep the Narragansett out of the conflict. Within hours after the appeal was placed in his hands by an Indian runner, "scarce acquainting" his wife, Williams boarded "a poor Canow" and "cut through a stormie Wind and with great seas, euery [*sic*] minute in hazard of life to the Sachim's [Canonicus's] howse."[19] After traveling thirty miles in the storm, Williams put into port at a Narragansett town larger than most of the English settlements of his day. He knew that in order to defeat the Pequot initiative, he must dissuade his friends from joining the uprising.

Canonicus, who was not only his friend but the Narragansetts' most influential leader, listened to Williams's request with a younger sachem, Mixanno, at his side. Mixanno was already beginning to assume the duties of leadership as Canonicus aged. The three men agreed to initiate an alliance between the colonists and the Narragansett. Within a few days, officials from Boston were double-timing through the forest to complete the necessary paperwork. The Indians welcomed the Puritan deputies with a feast of white chestnuts and cornmeal with blackberries (the "hasty pudding" of later New England generations), as Williams translated for both sides. The colonists were awed by the size of the Narragansett town as well as the hall in which they negotiated the alliance. The structure, about fifty feet wide, was likened to a statehouse by the men from Boston. Canonicus, so old that he had to lie on his side during the proceedings, surprised the Puritans with his direct questions and shrewd answers. The treaty was finally sealed, much to the relief of the Puritans, who thought the Narragansett capable of fielding thirty thousand fighting men. Although they had less than one-sixth of that number, the Narragansett still were capable of swinging the balance of power for or against the immigrants, who had been in America only sixteen years by this time.[20] Williams also won alliances with the Mohegan and Massachusetts nations, thereby strengthening the forces joined against the Pequots and their allies.

The outcome of the Pequot War radically altered the demographic balance in New England. Before the summer of 1636, the English colonists were a tiny minority; afterward, they were unquestionably the dominant majority. The atrocities of the war stunned Williams's conscience. He had been able to prevent a rout of the English, but at a profound moral cost. He could neither prevent the war itself nor the cruel retribution exacted by the Puritans on the Pequots and their allies. Williams had put himself in the position of aiding those with whom he shared a birthright, although he profoundly disagreed with the rationale for and the methods of their conquest. Even though Williams used his contacts with Narragansett runners and traders to gather intelligence about the Pequots' movements, he was doubtless deeply grieved by their deaths. In some of his letters to Winthrop, Williams seemed to be trying to answer charges that he was "soft" on Indians. He straddled a knife-edged conscience, an extremely painful act when one had sympathies on both sides in a war. The very talents that made his diplomacy effective produced an especially agonizing hell for him in times of war.

Williams was particularly revolted by the Puritans' slaughter of the Pequots. The war reached its climax with the burning of a thatch fort, trapping as many as six hundred Indian men, women, and children in a raging inferno. The few who managed to crawl out of this roaring furnace jumped back into it as they faced a wall of Puritan swords. The colonial soldiers and their Indian allies had to wade through pools of Pequot blood and hold their noses against the stench of burning flesh. The wind-driven fire consumed the entire structure and those trapped within in half an hour. A few Pequot bowmen stood their ground amid the flames until their bows were singed, only to fall backward into the fire to their deaths. The massacre even frightened some Puritans, such as Bradford, who later recalled, "It was a fearfull sight to see them thus frying."[21] While a few Puritans remonstrated, many put the war in the category of God's necessary business, along with smallpox epidemics, late frosts, and early freezes.

Beginning about 1640 and continuing for most of his remaining years, Williams engaged major Puritan thinkers (especially John Cot-

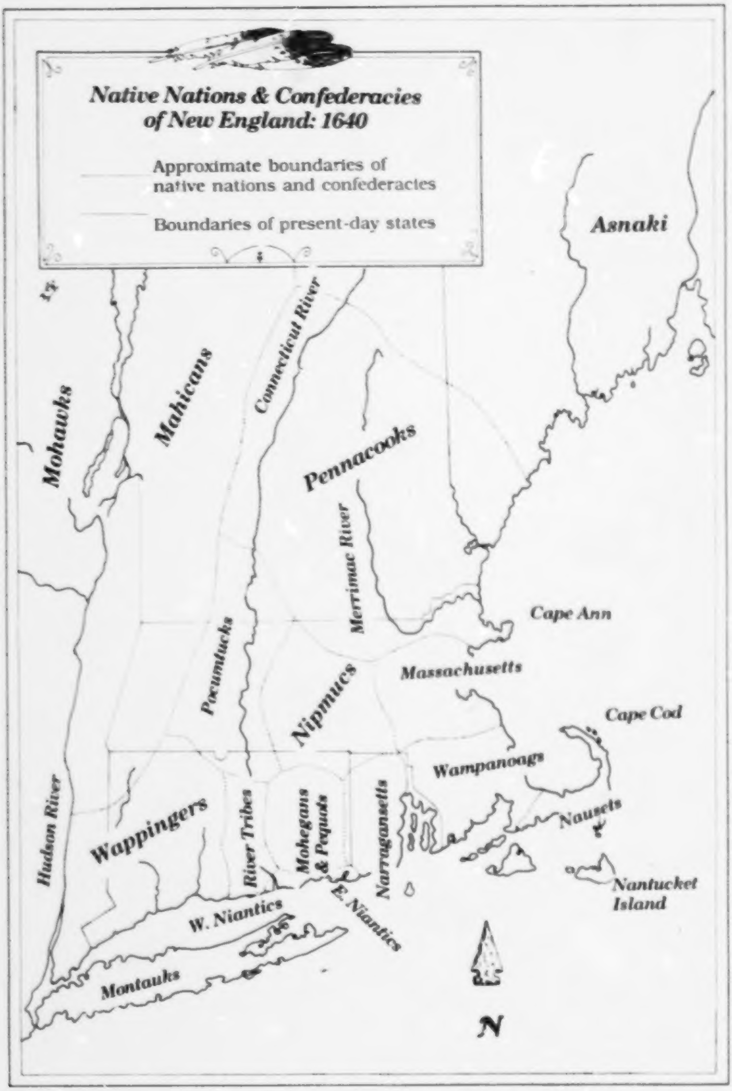

Native Nations & Confederacies of New England: 1640
Approximate boundaries of native nations and confederacies
Boundaries of present-day states
Asnaki
Mohawks
Mahicans
Connecticut River
Pennacooks
Merrimac River
Cape Ann
Pocumtucks
Massachusetts
Nipmucs
Cape Cod
Wampanoags
Hudson River
Wappingers
River Tribes
Mohegans & Pequots
Narragansetts
Nausets
Nantucket Island
W. Niantics
E. Niantics
Montauks
N

FIGURE 9.

ton) in a series of published theological and political sparring matches. In these debates, Williams's image of American Indians and their societies played a provocative intellectual role. Today these arguments may seem unceasingly windy and irrelevant, full of the sort of biblical hairsplitting that attracts no one but a covey of religious scholars and a few stump preachers. In the Puritan world of the mid-seventeenth century, however, what might seem to us as so many angels dancing atop so many pins was a vitally important debate. It defined the same issues of secular and religious authority that also would animate the American Revolution.

Another important project Williams undertook was his *Key Into the Languages of America,* the first Indian grammar in English. He had collected this material throughout much of his adult life, but the press of events had left him little time to write. It was not until 1643 on a solitary sea voyage to England that he finally composed the grammar, as well as a small encyclopedia of his observations about Native Americans. The *Key* became a standard text for English-speaking people wishing to learn the languages of New England's native people. The small book was printed in England and widely distributed there (but not in Puritan settlements). It was more than a simple grammar, of course; it also contained a critique of European religion and politics, an example of which was Williams's description of the "barbarians" of North America. In words very similar to those of Montaigne, he used Indian "savagery" as a counterpoint to European "civility."

> They [the Indians] were hospitable to everybody, whomsoever cometh in when they are eating, they offer them to eat of what they have, though but little enough [is] prepared for themselves. If any provision of fish or flesh comes in, they presently give . . . to eat of what they have. . . . It is a strange truth that a man can generally find more free entertainment and refreshment amongst these Barbarians than amongst the thousands that call themselves Christians.[22]

Some of his American lessons were offered in verse.

I've known them to leave their house and mat
To lodge a friend or stranger
When Jews and Christians oft have sent
Jesus Christ to the Manger

Oft have I heard these Indians say
These English will deliver us
Of all that's ours, our lands and lives
In the end, they'll bereave us.[23]

Williams also disputed the notion that Europeans were intellectually superior to Native Americans.

> For the temper of the braine in quick apprehensions and accurate judgements . . . the most high and sovereign God and Creator hath not made them inferior to Europeans. . . . Nature knows no difference between Europeans and Americans in blood, birth, bodies, [etc.,] God having of one blood made all mankind, *Acts* 17. . . . The same Sun shines on a Wilderness that doth on a garden.[24]

The Puritans, therefore, had no "divine right" to take land and resources from Native Americans. This was the first expression in English on American soil of a central tenet of the American Revolution a century-and-a-half later: "All men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights."

Williams found that some European "Christian values" were better embodied in Native American societies. For instance, there were "no beggars amongst them, nor fatherless children unprovided for."[25] He also took direct aim at the most pompous and ethnocentric of the English.

When Indians heare the horrid filths,
Of Irish, English men
The horrid Oaths and Murthurs late
Thus say these Indians then:

We weare no Cloathes, have many Gods,
And yet our sinnes are lesse:
You are Barbarians, Pagans wild,
Your land's the wildernesse.[26]

……

Boast not, proud English, of thy birth and blood;
Thy brother Indian is by birth as good.[27]

Addressing the issue of Christian hypocrisy, Williams minced no words.

> How often have I heard both the English and the Dutch[,] not only the civil, but the most debauched and profane say: "These Heathen Doggs, better kill a thousand of them than we Christians should be endangered or troubled with them; they have spilt our Christian blood, the best way to make riddance of them is to cut them all off and make way for Christians.[27]

To Williams, the natives of America, although not Christians, were just as godly as Europeans.

> He that questions whether God made the World, the Indians will teach him. I must acknowledge I have received in my converse with them many confirmations of these two great points, *Heb*. II.6,
> viz:
> 1. That God is[.]
> 2. That hee is a rewarder of all that diligently seek him.[29]

Just as his study of Indians provided Williams with a new perspective in matters of religion, he learned about politics from their example. He referred to Indian governmental organizations as "monarchies" (as did many Europeans in the earliest colonial days), then contradicted himself by detailing the role of popular opinion in them. In his *Key*, Williams described the workings of Indian government and found them to be similar to the structure he was erecting in the new colony. "The sachims . . . will not conclude of ought that concerns all, either Lawes, or Subsidies, or warres, unto which people are averse, or by gentle perswasion cannot be brought."[30]

When some Puritans asked whether a society based on individual choice instead of coerced consent would degenerate into anarchy, Williams found the Indians' example instructive.

> Although they have not so much to restraine them (both in respect of knowledge of God and lawes of Men) as the English have, yet a man shall never heare of such crimes amongst them [as] robberies, murthurs, adultries [etc.], as among the English.[31]

This opinion was shared by other observers of Native American societies. The Jesuit, Father Bressani, reporting from the Saint Lawrence valley at about the same time, refuted arguments that liberty would lead to anarchy. He described the Huron governance as "quite as effective as our own, since very few disorders appear in the midst of extreme liberty," and Huron leaders as "neither king nor absolute prince" but "heads of a republic." Bressani wrote that Huron leaders managed villages and tribes as fathers ought to manage their families, by power of persuasion, "obtaining everything *precario* [by asking permission] with eloquence," "exhortation," and (would a Jesuit dare forget) "prayer."[32]

Williams envisioned Providence Plantations as a society where "all men" would "walk as their consciences perswade them."[33] His ideal society had much in common with the Indian societies he knew, including a relatively egalitarian distribution of property and political rights based on natural law. His plans were that all "civil liberty" was to be "founded in the consent of the People," and that "Natural and civil Right and Privilege" would be due each "as a Man, a Subject, a Citizen."[34] Establishing such a utopian society, however, proved to be easier said than done. As Williams watched, some of his co-settlers set up land companies, which were similar to those in other colonies, in an attempt to hoard land that had been set aside for future arrivals in order to prevent the growth of a landless underclass in the colony. In a 1654 letter to the town of Providence, Williams expressed the isolation he sometimes felt in his quest for a new way of life: "I have been charged with folly for that freedom and liberty which I have always stood for—I say, liberty and equality in both land and government."[35]

Williams's trip to England in 1643 was more than the search for a publisher for his *Key Into the Languages of America*. He also sought a charter for his colony, and he arranged meetings with many people who shared his opinions. His observations of the New World and his arguments provided the raw material for many of the European philosophers who influenced the authors of America's Declaration of Independence and France's revolutionary rhetoric. In discussing Williams's influence, Edwin Poteat commented,

> The enthusiasm and much of the political idealism of John Milton and Oliver Cromwell were derived from their personal contacts with Williams . . . [and,] in so far as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Sir Henry Vane, and others were inspired by Milton and Cromwell, they too are intellectual heirs of Williams.[36]

During this visit, Williams met with Seekers and other radical thinkers who spread his ideas across England and into Wales. His publication entitled *The Bloudy Tenent*, which was published the following year, became a virtual textbook for the Secretarians and Levelers during the English revolution of 1648.[37] On 9 August 1644, the House of Commons ordered a public burning of *Bloudy Tenent*; however, a few weeks later another unauthorized edition appeared, along with a host of other tracts by writers who picked up its refrain of secular government and popular sovereignty.

Williams's ideas faced written opposition as well as official intolerance. In the Massachusetts colony, as in England, tract writers worked overtime to provide protection against his "contamination." *The Shield Single Against the Sword Doubled*, published in 1654 by Henry Niccols of South Wales, decried "that seed that sprouts in this wild and bitter fruit, and that in such a season when the spirit of error is let loose to deceive many a thousand souls in the Nation, whose hearts are become tinder or gunpowder ready to catch and kindle at every spark of false light."[38] Niccols accused Williams and his associates of seeking to "take away all the Gospel" and "all instituted worship of God" and embraced Cotton's description of Williams as "the Prodigious Minister of Exorbitant Novelties."[39]

The debate became an impassioned one on both sides. "Forcing of conscience is soul-rape," Williams countered, pointing out that even Jesus Christ "commands tolerance of anti-Christians." He pointed to the religious tolerance practiced by the Narragansett, among whom the "civil commonwealth" and the "spiritual commonwealth" were "independent the one of the other. . . . The very Indians abhor to disturb any conscience at worship."[40] Later in his life, Williams expanded on this theme.

> God requirth not an uniformity of religion to be enacted and enforced in any civil state; which enforced uniformity (sooner or later) is the greatest occasion of civil wars. . . . It is the will and command of God that . . . a permission of the most Paganish, Jewish, Turkish, or Anti-Christian consciences and worships be granted to all men in all nations and countries.[41]

To Williams, the only way to prevent wars based on religion was to actively sanction tolerance. He argued vehemently against assertions that one had to be Christian to have a conscience and a soul. If all peoples were created equal, religious crusades made less than little sense—this Williams took to be God's word and commandment. For him, religion was not so much a professed doctrine as it was the possession of an innate sense of justice and morality, and he saw that capacity in all people, whether Christian or not. From his observations of the Indian society, he learned that morality was instilled in humankind naturally, not necessarily by membership in a church or adherence to dogma. "It is granted," he wrote, "that nature's light discovers a God . . . *as we see in the Indians* [emphasis added]."[42] During his extensive travels with Narragansett friends, Williams sensed "the conscience of good and evil which every savage Indian in the world hath."[43]

Williams was a peacemaker between nations as well as religions. When he returned again to England in the early 1650s, one of the items of his agenda was a petition from the native peoples of New England. He spoke on behalf of their request for aid from the British government in protecting native religious freedom from Puritan attack.

> I humbly pray your consideration, whether or not it be only possible, but very easy, to live and die in peace with all the natives of this country. . . . Are not the English of this land, generally, a persecuted people from their native soil? And hath not the God of peace and father of mercies made these natives more friendly in this, than our native countrymen in our own land to us? . . . Are not our families grown up in peace amongst them? Upon which I humbly ask, how can it suit with Christian ingenuity to take hold of some seeming occasions for their destruction?[44]

Where Puritans saw heathens and devils, Williams saw friends with intelligence, moral sense, and a workable political system based on consensus. Such people had the intelligence and the right, he reasoned, to judge Christianity for themselves and to decide, without coercion, whether they preferred the Christian doctrine to their own traditions, making the decision "according to their Indian and American consciences, for other consciences it is not supposed they should have."[45] Other societies, such as those in Arabia, the Far East, and elsewhere, had managed to sustain themselves and even flourish without knowledge of nor devotion to "a true Church of Jesus Christ."[46] This notion of a common moral sense among all peoples provided the theoretical basis for the separation of church and state in the United States Constitution. Perhaps the greatest testimony to this contribution by Williams was made by his master antagonist, Cotton, who wrote that Williams's "dangerous opinions subverted the state and government of this country, and tended to unsettle the kingdoms and commonwealths of Europe."[47]

While Cotton and other Puritan polemicists had no use for Williams's ideas, they certainly needed his frontier diplomacy. Williams's yeoman efforts did much to maintain a shaky peace along the frontiers of New England for nearly two generations after the Pequot War; in 1645 his efforts barely averted another native uprising against encroaching settlements.

In the 1660s, however, Williams was forced to watch as his lifelong pursuit of peace failed yet again. His body had grown old quickly. As he entered his sixties, he complained often of "old pains, lameness, so th't sometimes I have not been able to rise, nor goe, or stand,"[48] and found that he must now use his pastoral staff for more than ministerial ornamentation. He felt more impotent than ever as wave after wave of colonists provided native peoples with plentiful grievances by usurping their land without permission or compensation. Although he wished to protect English interests, Williams had never changed his mind about this matter—neither the Puritans nor any other Europeans had any right, divine or otherwise, to take Indian land. He firmly believed "that we have not our land by Patent of the King, but that the Natives are the true owners of it; and that we ought to repent of such receiving it by Pattent [*sic*]."[49] His final years were profoundly painful, for he remained a sensitive man who prized peace and harmony above all else.

The hostilities that broke out in June 1675 between natives and colonists had their roots in revenge and exploitation. Mixanno had been assassinated in 1643, and his murder had never been avenged. Rumors circulated that the English had plotted the murder and were harboring the assailant. When one of Massasoit's sons visited Boston in 1662, he fell gravely ill, and, as a party of Wampanoag warriors rushed him into the wilderness, he died. The warriors beached their canoes, buried his body in a knoll, and returned home with rumors that he, too, had been a victim of the English.

The mantle of leadership then fell to Metacom (known as King Philip among the English), who was about twenty-five years old. Metacom distrusted nearly all Europeans (Williams being one of the few exceptions) and was also known as a man who did not forgive insults easily; it was said that he once chased the colonist John Gibbs from Mount Hope to Nantucket Island because Gibbs had insulted his father. Throughout his childhood, Metacom had watched his people dwindle before the English advance. By 1671, about forty thousand people of European descent lived in New England; the native population, which had been double that of the Europeans before the Pequot War, now stood at about twenty thousand. The Wampanoags held only a small strip of land at Mount Hope, and settlers wanted even that. As colonial farms and pastures spread out toward Mount Hope, they created friction over land that the Indians had used without question for countless generations.

Metacom grew more bitter by the day as he watched his nation being destroyed before his eyes. English cattle trampled Indian corn fields, and farming forced game animals further into the wilderness. He and other people in his nation were subjected to interrogation by Puritan officials. Traders often fleeced them and wanted to exchange furs for liquor. The devastation of alcohol and disease and the loss of land destroyed families and tradition. These were Metacom's thoughts as he prepared to go to war against the English.

As rumors of war reached Williams, he again tried to keep the Narragansett out of it; this time he failed. His close friend Nananawtunu, son of Mixanno, explained that while he opposed going to war, his people could no longer be restrained. They had decided the time had come to die fighting, rather than face extinction quietly. Williams's letters of this time were pervaded by a growing sadness, as he watched the two peoples he knew so well move toward war.

Even after the hostilities began in earnest, Williams continued his peacekeeping efforts. He met with Metacom (riding in a canoe with the sachem and his family down a river not far from Providence) to warn him that he was leading his people to extermination. Williams compared the Wampanoags to a canoe on a stormy sea of English fury. "He answered me in a consenting, considering kind of way," Williams later wrote; Metacom replied, "My canoe is already overturned."[50]

When Indians in war paint appeared on the heights above Providence, Williams picked up his staff, climbed the bluffs, and told the war parties that if they attacked the town, England would send thousands of armed men to crush them. "Well," one of the sachems leading the attack told Williams,

> Let them come. We are ready for them, but as for you, brother Williams, you are a good man. You have been kind to us for many years. Not a hair on your head shall be touched."[51]

Williams was not injured, but his house was torched while he met with the Indians on the bluffs; they all watched as the flames spread throughout the town. He told the warriors, "This house of mine now burning before mine eyes hath lodged kindly some thousands of you these ten years."[52] The date was 29 March 1676.

If the colony were to survive, Williams, for the first time in his life, would have to become a military commander; and so, with a grave heart, he sent his neighbors out to do battle with the sons and daughters of the same native people who had sheltered him during his winter trek from Massachusetts forty years earlier.

The war was irrefutably brutal on both sides, as the English fought with their backs literally to the sea for many months before going on the offensive. As Williams and others watched from inside a hastily erected fort, nearly all of Providence burned. Fields were laid waste, and cattle were slaughtered or driven into the woods.[53] Colonists, seething with anger, caught an Indian, and Williams was put in the agonizing position of ordering him killed, rather than watching him tortured. At Northfield, Indians hung two Englishmen on chains by placing hooks under their jaws. At Springfield, colonists arrested an Indian woman, then offered her body to dogs, who tore her to pieces.[54]

By August 1676 the war had ended. After the extermination of the Narragansett, the Mohawks and Mohegans broke their alliance with the Wampanoags, leaving them alone to face the English. Nearly all of Metacom's warriors and their families and friends had been killed or driven into hiding. Metacom himself fled toward Mount Hope, where he hid in a swamp. English soldiers found him, and, after dragging him out of the mire, they had him drawn and quartered. His head was sent to Plymouth on a gibbet, where it was displayed in much the same way as the severed heads of criminals were mounted on the railings of London Bridge. His hands were sent to Boston, where a local showman charged admission for a glimpse of them. The remainder of Metacom's body was hung from four separate trees.[55]

In terms of deaths in proportion to total population, "King Philip's War" was among the deadliest in American history. About one thousand colonists died in battle; many more died of starvation and war-related diseases.[56] Every native nation bordering the Puritan settlements was reduced to ruin, including those whose members, in happier days, had offered the earliest colonists their first Thanksgiving dinner. Many of the survivors were sold into slavery in the West Indies, which enabled the colonists to remove even more natives from the area, while at the same time raising money to help pay the enormous war debt.[57] Metacom's son was auctioned off with about five hundred others, following a brief, but intense biblical debate over whether a son should be forced to atone for the sins of his father.[58]

Williams died in 1683 in Providence with the pain of the world bowing his creaking shoulders and with the realization of just how out of step he was with the temper of his time. He was a peacemaker in time of war, a tolerant man in a world of ideologues, a democrat in a time of ecclesiastical and secular sovereigns, and a dissenter whenever self-interest masqueraded as divinity. Williams had planted seeds in American soil that would not fully flower for more than a century. He would have relished the company of Jefferson, for example, at a time when his ideas were finally the common currency of revolution. He would also have enjoyed meeting the two Creek sachems who visited England in 1791, "where, as usual, they attracted great attention, and many flocked around them, *as well to learn their ideas of certain things* as to behold 'the savages' [emphasis added]." Asked their opinion of European religion, one said that the Creeks had no priests or established religion, and that people were not expected to agree on every matter of opinion. "It is best that everyone should paddle his own canoe in his own way"[59]—the same simple American notion from a century-and-a-half earlier that had incited the authorities to burn Williams's *Bloudy Tenent*.

6

THE WHITE ROOTS REACH OUT

The Iroquois Confederacy urges the colonists to unite

Our wise forefathers established Union and Amity between the Five Nations. This has made us formidable; this has given us great Weight and Authority with our neighboring Nations. We are a powerful Confederacy; ***and by your observing the same methods, our wise forefathers have taken****, you will acquire such Strength and power. Therefore whatever befalls you, never fall out with one another [emphasis added].*

—Canassatego, Lancaster
Treaty Council, 1744[1]

During the eighteenth century, direct experience with American Indian leaders and their political systems became common on both sides of the Atlantic. This was a period of struggle between the empires of France and England for control of the riches of the New World, in which the Iroquois and other native nations played a crucial role. Beginning nearly two generations before the American Revolution, the circumstances of diplomacy arrayed themselves so that leaders of the English colonies and the Iroquois Confederacy were able to meet together to discuss the politics of alliance—and confederation. Beginning in the early 1740s, Iroquois leaders strongly urged the colonists to form a federation similar to their own. Their immediate practical objective was unified management of the Indian trade and prevention of fraud, but they also stressed the importance of unity in the continuing "cold war'' with France. Deganawidah's vision was becoming a reality—the white roots of the Great White Pine, the Great Tree of Peace, had begun to reach out to all the people of North America.

This set of circumstances brought forth Benjamin Franklin as a leading diplomat. He had first read the Iroquois proposals for colonial unity as he set their words in type; his press issued Indian treaties in small booklets, which enjoyed a lively sale throughout the colonies. He was an early, forceful advocate of colonial union and, by the early 1750s, had become more directly involved in the diplomatic process itself. All of these circumstantial strings were tied together in the summer of 1754, when colonial representatives—Franklin among them—met with Iroquois sachems at Albany to address issues of mutual concern. The Albany Plan of Union was the product of this historic meeting. Its design echoed both English and Iroquois precedents and, a generation later, would become a rough draft for the Articles of Confederation.

In 1742, Pennsylvania officials met with Iroquois sachems in council at Lancaster to form an alliance against the threat of French encroachment. Canassatego spoke on behalf of the Six Nations, confirming the ''League of Friendship'' that existed between the two parties and reminding all those present that they were ''bound by the strictest leagues to watch for each other's preservation.''[2] Two years later, Canassatego would go beyond pledges of friendship to advise the English colonists on matters of unity. The great Iroquois chief lectured the assembled colonial governors on Iroquois concepts of unity while they again met in Lancaster (see figure 10).

> Our wise forefathers established Union and Amity between the Five Nations. This has made us formidable; this has given us great Weight and Authority with our neighboring Nations. We are a powerful Confederacy; *and by your observing the same methods, our wise forefathers have taken,* you will acquire such Strength and power. Therefore whatever befalls you, never fall out with one another [emphasis added].[3]

An on-the-scene report by Richard Peters provided this portrait of Canassatego: ''a tall, well-made man'' with ''a very full chest and brawny limbs, a manly countenance, with a good-natired [*sic*] smile. He was about sixty years of age, very active, strong, and had a surprising liveliness in his speech.''[4] Dressed in an ornate, scarlet coat and a fine, gold-laced hat, Canassatego possessed such an awesome presence that heads turned whenever he walked into a room (see figure 11).

Canassatego's admonition and advice would echo throughout the colonies for over a generation and would be used to rally support not only against French colonial designs but also against British tyranny.

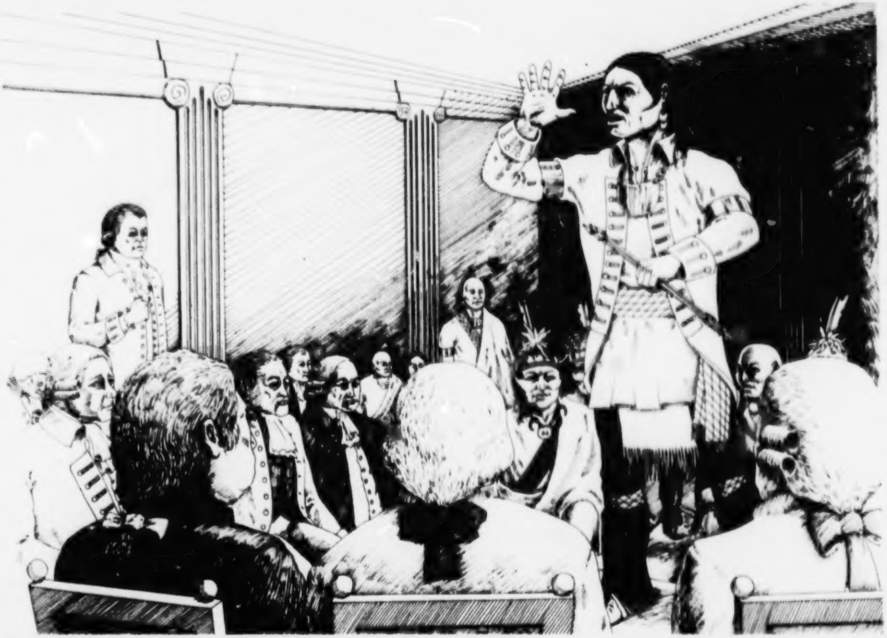


FIGURE 10. "Our wise forefathers established Union and Amity between the Five Nations. This has made us formidable; this has given us great Weight and Authority with our neighboring Nations. We are a powerful Confederacy; and by your observing the same methods, our wise forefathers have taken, you will acquire such Strength and power. Therefore, whatever befalls you, never fall out with one another." By John Kahionhes Fadden.

Despite the opinion of the royal governor of New York, George Clinton, that most American democratic leaders in 1747 "were ignorant, illiterate people of republican principle" who had "no knowledge of the English Constitution or love for their country," these Americans were gaining a sense of freedom and a new identity from the American environment and its native peoples long before the outbreak of the American Revolution.[5]

Another major figure in this intellectual transference was Tiyanoga, a Mohawk sachem known to the British as Hendrick. For over fifty years, Hendrick was an active participant in both Iroquois and English societies. After his conversion to Christianity sometime after 1700, he gained prominence around Albany, New York, as a Mohawk preacher.[6] He became increasingly interested in English life and manners and in 1710 gained fame as one of the four "kings" who were received at the Court of Queen Anne. While in England, he was hailed as the "Emperor of the Five Nations"; he even had his portrait painted by John Verelst. Upon his return to America, Hendrick would become known as a man of "spirit and striking force" in colonial affairs.[7]

Although Hendrick was a controversial figure, he was perhaps the most important individual link in the chain of alliance that defeated the French in North America. Hendrick fought at the Battle of Lake George in 1755 during the initial stages of the Seven Years' War (or the French and Indian War, as it is known in North America). He had joined forces with Sir William Johnson to defeat Baron Dieskau, and his heroism in this battle helped save the New York frontier—and probably New England as well—from the French. When this contribution is combined with his participation in the conference at Albany that framed the Articles of Union the year before his death, his place in history should be assured.[8] For both military and philosophical reasons, Hendrick should be considered one of the founders of the United States.

During the decade following Canassatego's pleas for unity, all diplomatic roads seemed to lead to Albany.[9] Long before the Albany Congress, Franklin had begun his attempt to put Canassatego's advice into practice.[10] Using the Iroquois Confederacy as an example, Franklin sought to shame the reluctant colonists into some form of union in 1751. (His argument may appear to be a hyperbolic racial slur, but subsequent evidence will show that Franklin had a profound respect for the Iroquois.)

> It would be a strange thing . . . if Six Nations of Ignorant savages should be capable of forming such an union and be able to execute it in such a manner that it has subsisted for ages and appears indissoluble, and yet that a like union should be impractical for ten or a dozen

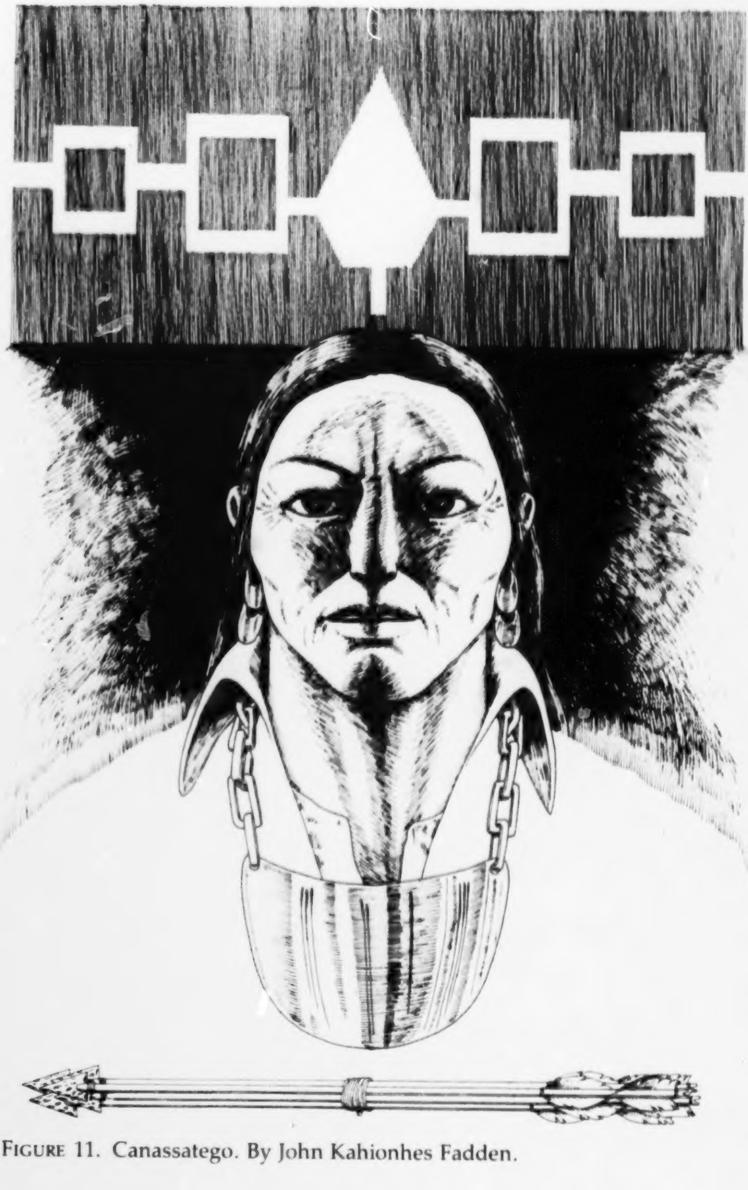


FIGURE 11. Canassatego. By John Kahionhes Fadden.

> English colonies, to whom it is more necessary and must be more advantageous, and who cannot be supposed to want an equal understanding of their interest.[11]

On 9 May 1753, Franklin wrote a long letter to his friend Peter Collinson, which detailed the manners and customs of American Indians, as well as their appeal for colonial Americans. He had observed, for instance, that Indian children brought up in colonial society readily returned to their people after taking only "one Indian ramble with them." However,

> when white persons of either sex have been taken prisoners young by Indians, and lived a while among them, tho' ransomed by their friends . . . [they] take the first good opportunity of escaping again into the woods, from whence there is no reclaiming them.[12]

He also praised "the Great Council" at "Onondago" in this letter and related how the Six Nations educated their men in "what was the best manner."[13] Clearly, Franklin was fascinated by Native American ideas and customs. He had become familiar with them through publishing accounts of Indian treaties on a regular basis, beginning in 1736 and ending in the early 1760s when his defense of Indians under assault by frontier settlers cost him his seat in the Pennsylvania Assembly.

During the early stages of a distinguished diplomatic career that would later make him the United States' premier envoy in Europe, Franklin attended a treaty council at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. At this meeting between the Iroquois and Ohio Indians (Twightees, Delawares, Shawnees, and Wyandots), he was able to absorb the rich imagery and ideas of the Six Nations firsthand. On 1 October 1753, he watched as the Oneida chief Scarrooyady and a Mohawk, Cayanguileguoa, consoled the Ohio Indians for their losses against the French and listened while Scarrooyady recounted the origins of the Great Law (see figure 12).

> We must let you know, that there was a friendship established by our and your Grandfathers, and a mutual Council fire was kindled. In this friendship all those then under the ground, who had not yet obtained eyes or faces [reporter's note: that is, those unborn] were included; and it was then mutually promised to tell the same to their children and children's children.[14]

Having condoled with the Ohio Indians, Scarrooyady then exhorted the assembled Indians to "preserve this Union and Friendship, which has so long and happy continued among us. Let us keep the chain from rusting."[15]

The next day the Pennsylvania commissioners (including Franklin) presented the assembled Indians with a wampum belt, which portrayed the union between the Iroquois and the colonists. The accompanying speech echoed the words of Canassatego spoken a decade earlier at Lancaster and recalled their appeal for unity and a strong defense.

> [C]ast your eyes towards this belt, whereon six figures are . . . holding one another by the hands. This is a just resemblance of our present union. The first five figures representing the Five Nations [and] the sixth . . . the government of Pennsylvania; with whom you are linked in a close and firm union. In whatever part the belt is broke, all the wampum runs off, and renders the whole of no strength or consistency. In like manner, should you break faith with one another, or with this government, the union is dissolved. We would therefore hereby place before you the necessity of preserving your faith entire to one another, as well as to this government. Do not separate; Do not part of any score. Let no differences nor jealousies subsist a moment between Nation and Nation, but join together as one man.[16]

On one level, Franklin and the other colonial delegates were engaged in practical diplomacy; on another, they were absorbing Iroquois concepts of unity along with their advice to confederate in a league similar to their own. Scarrooyady took for granted that the Pennsylvanians now had some knowledge of the Great Law's workings when he requested that they "lay all our present transactions before the council at *Onondago*, that they may know we do nothing in the dark."[17] Another lesson from this meeting appeared in one of America's first editorial cartoons, in which Franklin advocated colonial unity with the slogan "Join, or Die." (See figure 13.) The drawing, which depicted a disjointed snake, each piece labeled with the name of a colony, appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 9 May 1754, just before the Albany Congress with the Iroquois and the English colonies. The snake (sometimes accompanied by the phrase "Don't Tread on Me") became a popular symbol of colonial unity, much like another Iroquois symbol, the covenant chain image, which was later used in designs for early United States coins. It was significant that the New York Tammany society retained this rattlesnake as the clan totem for Pennsylvania throughout the nineteenth century.[18]

Franklin's knowledge of the Iroquois Confederacy was apparent in his correspondence with the noted scientist, political figure, and

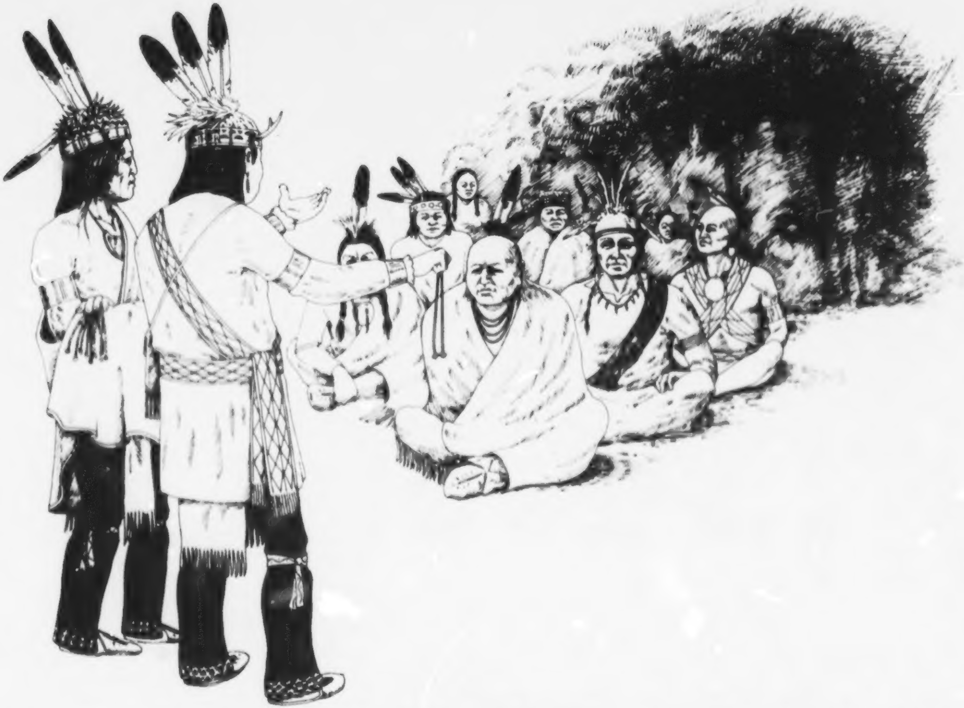


FIGURE 12. In 1753, Benjamin Franklin observed an Iroquois Condolence Ceremony. By John Kahionhes Fadden.

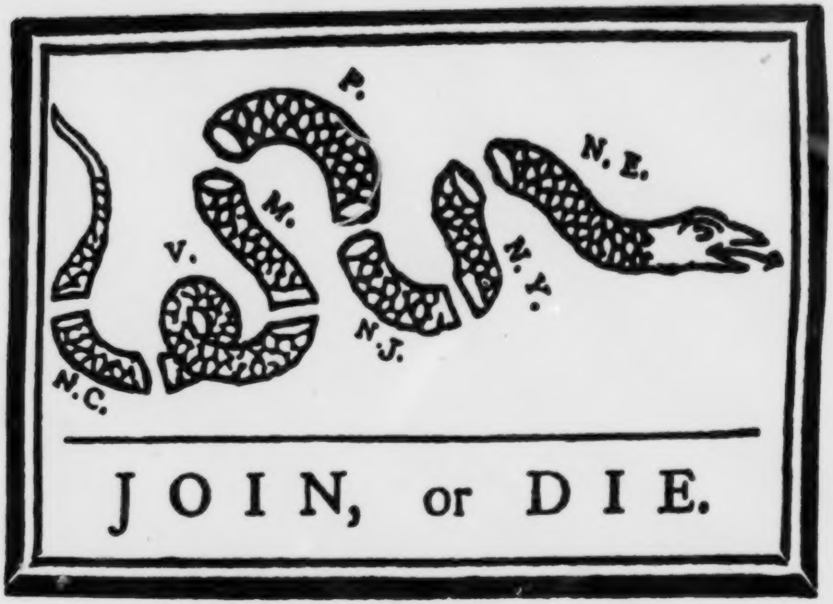

P.
N.E.
M.
V.
N.Y.
N.J.
N.C.
JOIN, or DIE.

Figure 13. Join or Die. Benjamin Franklin. *Pennsylvania Gazette,* 9 May 1754.

scholar Cadwallader Colden, which began in 1747 when Franklin requested and received copies of Colden's *History of the Five Nations*. In a letter dated 27 January 1748, Franklin mentioned to Colden that he had read the *History of the Five Nations* and thought that it was "a well wrote, entertaining and instructive Piece," which must have been "exceedingly useful to all those Colonies" who had anything to do with Indian affairs.[19]

Colden's book influenced an entire generation of eighteenth-century colonial and European philosophers and encouraged them to integrate their observations of native societies with what they believed had been their own history. It was he who wrote, for instance, that the Iroquois skill at oratory and statecraft had "outdone the Romans." *History of the Five Nations* was first published in 1727 (then expanded and revised in the 1747 edition that Franklin later read), only three years after Lafitau's *Moeurs des sauvages Américains* provided a striking graphic illustration of this belief. (See figure 14.) Drawn by a French artist who had never been to America, the engraving purported to show Iroquois in council. The assembled Native Americans wore togas instead of their own native dress, had short, curly, Roman-style hair, and were depicted against the background of a rolling, nearly treeless countryside that resembled Italy more than the forests of northeastern North America.

Franklin later commented on the popularity of Colden's work in a letter to the author dated 25 October 1753, which remarked that extracts from the book had appeared "in all the magazines."[20] Shortly after attending the meeting in Albany, Franklin stopped to thank Colden for the notes that he had sent to him while at Albany. Upon returning to Philadelphia, Franklin wrote to Colden about his journey to Carlisle "to meet and hold a treaty with the Ohio Indians" and promised to send a copy of the treaty later on. Franklin also remarked that he had left his copy of Colden's book with a friend in Boston.[21]

Colden's characterization of native polities as "confederate republics" was adopted by other participants in the intellectual discourse of the colonies as Franklin began to assemble plans for an intercolonial federation. Lewis Evans's "Brief Account of Pennsylvania, 1753," published while Franklin was at Carlisle, provided the following description of Indian governments:

> They are all Republicks in the Strictest sense; every Nation has a general Council, whither deputies are sent from every village; [and] by a majority of votes everything is determined there. What is most singular in American Government is that there is no such thing as coercive

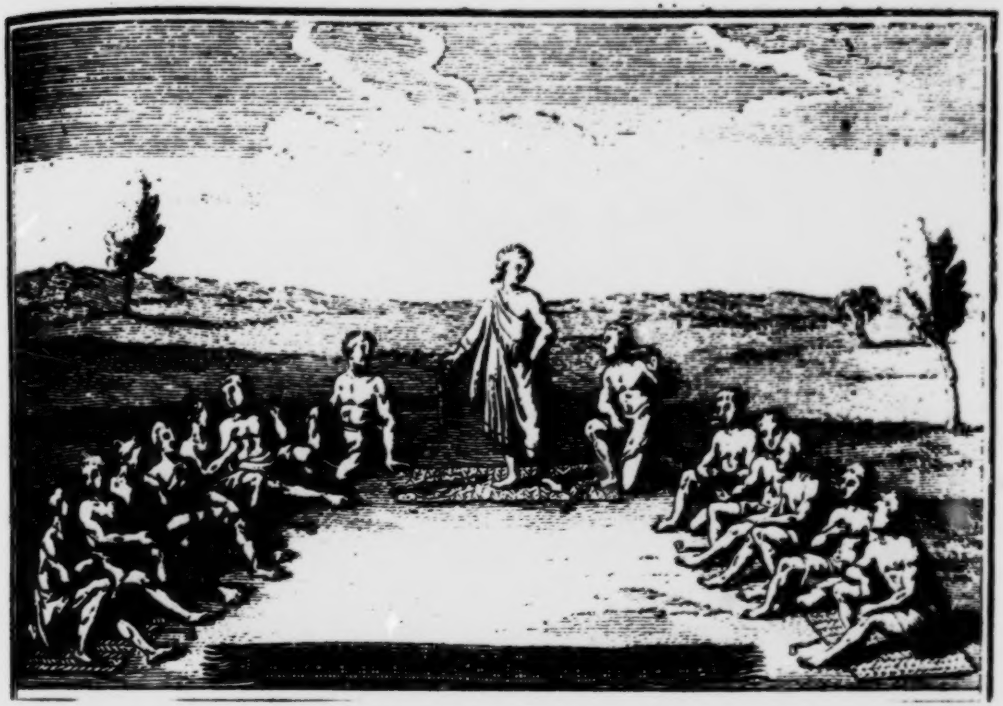


FIGURE 14. An Iroquois council or Roman senate? Source: Donald A. Grinde, Jr., *The Iroquois and the Founding of the American Nation* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1977).

> power in any Nation. . . . [Their] National Councils have Power of War and peace . . . [but] they can neither raise men nor appoint officers, [leaving such matters to those who of] their own accord unite in a Company [and choose] their war Captain, nor has this Captain any power to compel his men, or to punish them for neglect of duty [and] yet no officer on earth is more strictly obeyed, so strongly are they influenced by the principle of doing their Duty uncompelled.[22]

Furthermore, the Six Nations of the Confederacy—"the Mohocks, Onoyades, Tucaroras, Onondagoes, Cayugoes," and "Senecas"—bore "a universal dominion in North America," and their colonial allies "need not fear any other nations."[23]

On the eve of the Albany conference, Franklin was already persuaded that Canassatego's words of the previous decade were good counsel, and he was not alone in this sentiment. During the intervening years, tensions between England and France had intensified. News of George Washington's defeat at Fort Necessity in Pennsylvania reached the colonists during the Albany Congress, shattering English prestige in North America and making alliance with the Iroquois all the more necessary. The need for unity intensified as the storm clouds of the Seven Years' War gathered on the horizon; French expansion into the Ohio country had to be thwarted.

For this reason, James DeLancey, acting governor of New York, sent a special invitation to another influential Iroquois, Hendrick, to attend the meeting (see figure 15). The aging Mohawk sachem was asked to provide insights into the structure of the League of the Iroquois for the assembled colonial delegates. Hendrick agreed to play a major role in convening the Albany Congress, in large part because he wished to see his close friend Sir William Johnson reinstated as the Indian agent for the Six Nations. Without him, Hendrick maintained that the covenant chain was rusting. Hector Saint Jean de Crèvecoeur, himself an adopted Iroquois who had sat in on sessions of the Grand Council at Onondaga, provided this description of Hendrick as he appeared at a dinner at Johnson Hall just a few years earlier.

> [He] wished to appear at his very best. . . . His head was shaved, with the exception of a little tuft of hair in the back, to which he attached a piece of silver. To the cartilage of his ears . . . he attached a little brass wire twisted into very tight spirals.
>
> A [ring] was hung from his nose. Wearing a wide silver neckpiece, a crimson vest and a blue cloak adorned with sparkling gold, Hendrick, as was his custom, shunned European breeches for a loincloth fringed with glass beads. On his feet, Hendrick wore moccasins of tanned elk, embroidered with porcupine quills, fringed with tiny silver bells.[24]

Albany straddled the border between colonial settlement and Iroquois country at the "eastern door" of the Six Nations' symbolic longhouse; it was not surprising that, in the letters convening the conference, many instructions to the delegates were phrased in Iroquois diplomatic idiom. These letters spoke of "burying the hatchet"—a phrase that entered idiomatic English from the Iroquois Great Law—as well as "renewing the covenant chain."[25] The town, however, was still dominated by the architecture of its founders, the Dutch.[26] Most of the sessions of the congress (which convened 19 June 1754, five days after its scheduled opening, because many of the Iroquois and some of the colonial commissioners arrived late) took place at the Albany Courthouse; many of the speeches to and by the Indians occurred in front of the governor's residence.

On 28 June 1754, the day after Hendrick arrived with the Mohawk delegation, the acting governor met with them in front of his residence. The two hundred Indians in attendance sat on ten rows of benches with colonial delegates facing them in a row of chairs, their backs to the building. According to Theodore Atkinson's account of the conference, the gathering was held on a warm day, after morning rain. Governor DeLancey read a speech that had been approved by the delegates paragraph by paragraph; New York's interpreter relayed his words to the Indians. Following Iroquois diplomatic custom, he presented belts to the Indians and began his speech with a condolence: "I wipe away your tears, and take sorrow from your hearts, that you may open your minds and speak freely."[27] As the governor proceeded, the assembled Indians signified "their understanding of each paragraph by a kind of Universal Huzzah," and when "the great Chain belt" was presented, they signified "their understanding or Consent by Such a Huzzah repeated Seven Times over for every Tribe."[28]

Holding the chain belt given him by the colonial delegates, Hendrick made it into a metaphor for political union. He advised DeLancey that the colonists should strengthen themselves and "bring as many into this Covenant Chain as you possibly can."[29] It was likely that Hendrick spoke on this subject several days later, when the Indians and delegates assembled again in front of the governor's residence.[30] In effect, Hendrick was repeating the advice Canassatego had earlier given colonial delegates at Lancaster, this time at a conference devoted not only to diplomacy but also to drawing up a plan for the type of colonial union advocated by the Iroquois.

Hendrick openly criticized the British and suggested that an alliance with them depended on a suitable plan for colonial unity. Referring to the union of the colonies and the Six Nations on 9 July 1754, he based his proposal on the Great Law. "We wish this Tree of Friendship may

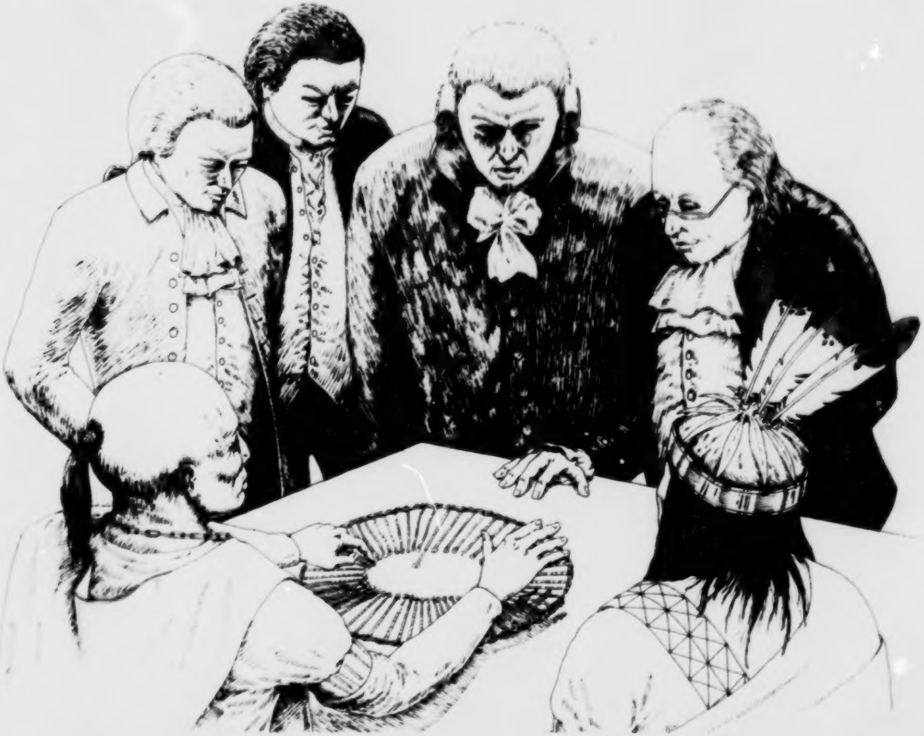


FIGURE 15. Hendrick, Abraham, and Franklin at the Albany Conference, 1754. By John Kahionhes Fadden.

grow up to a great height and then we shall be a powerful people. We the United Nations shall rejoice of our strength" as we will "have now made so strong a Confederacy."[31] DeLancey replied to Hendrick's speech by also using the Iroquois symbol of the Great Tree of Peace. When he said, "I hope that by this present Union, we shall grow up to a great height and be as powerful and famous as you were of old," he went beyond covenant chain rhetoric to the broader and more significant concept of the Great Law.[32]

Franklin was commissioned to draw up the final draft of the Albany Plan the same day that these speeches were given, which was also two months to the day after his *Pennsylvania Gazette* had published the "Join, or Die" cartoon. In drawing up his final draft, he endeavored to meet several diplomatic demands: the Crown's, for control; the colonies', for autonomy in a loose confederation; and the Iroquois', for a colonial union similar (but not identical) to their own in form and function. To satisfy the Crown, the plan provided administration by a president general to be appointed by Parliament. The individual colonies were to be allowed to retain their own constitutions, except as the plan circumscribed them; this retention of internal sovereignty within the individual colonies closely resembled the Iroquois system and had no existing precedent in Europe.

Franklin chose the name "Grand Council" for the plan's deliberative body, the same title generally applied to the Iroquois central council. Even the proposed number of delegates, forty-eight, was similar to the Iroquois council's size of fifty.[33] The Albany Plan provided for delegate representation based in rough proportion to tax revenues from each colony. However, the Iroquois system, in which each Haudenosaunee nation sent a different number of sachems to Onondaga, was based solely on tradition.

The plan called for a "general Government" in America, under which each of the thirteen colonies would "retain its present Constitution," except for certain general powers (mainly mutual defense).[34] The king was to appoint a president-general for the government, but each colonial assembly would elect its own representatives to the Grand Council. The president-general would exercise certain powers with the advice of the Grand Council, such as handling Indian relations, making treaties, deciding upon peace or war, raising troops, building forts, providing warships, and, finally, making such laws and levying such taxes as would be needed for these purposes.[35]

Franklin wrote that the debates on the Albany Plan "went on daily, hand in hand with the Indian business," after its formal proposal to the assembled delegates on 10 July 1754.[36] With this plan, colonial leaders embraced the advice of Indian leaders such as Canassatego and Hendrick who had advocated such intercolonial unity for more than a decade. Its roots were in the Indian-colonial relations of the early eighteenth century, and its model was the Iroquois Confederacy. Despite the need for an intercolonial federation, the Albany Plan of Union was not ratified by any colony.

Historians have not ignored the importance of the role played by the Albany Plan in the formation of the instruments of government in the United States. For instance, Henry Steele Commager suggested that the Articles of Confederation "should be studied in comparison with the Albany Plan of Union and the Constitution."[37] According to Clinton Rossiter, the Albany Plan was "a landmark on the rough road that was to lead through the first Continental Congresses and the Articles of Confederation to the Constitution of 1787."[38] The missing component in their analysis, of course, was the role and influence of Iroquois political theory on the formation of American notions of government. Julian P. Boyd maintained two generations ago, however, that Franklin "proposed a plan for the union of the colonies and he found his materials in the great confederacy of the Iroquois."[39]

Boyd also reported that Franklin made use of analogies between Indian and European societies whenever they suited his purposes. A minor piece, *Remarques sur la politesse des sauvages de l'Amerique Septentrionale [Remarks Concerning the Savages of North America]*, written during the American Revolution, was one such example. The spirit of this work was less an examination of Indian manners than it was a commentary on civilized society, which Franklin often found artificial and weak.

> Savages we call them because their manners differ from ours, which we think the perfection of civility: they think the same of theirs. The Indian men, when young, are hunters and warriors; when old, counsellors; for all their government is by counsel of the sages; there is no force, there are no prisons, no officers to compel obedience or inflict punishment.[40]

This comparison was exactly the kind of analysis favored by the Romantic thinkers, recently influenced by the works of Rousseau, but Franklin's purpose in making it was practical politics rather than philosophic inquiry. He sought a governmental system that would unite the colonies, and the Iroquois had a workable example of a federal structure that allowed maximum internal freedom (a necessity for colonies that disagreed with each other more often than not). According to Boyd, one of "America's great contributions to the history of political thought has been its working out of the problem of federation." This process had begun with the Iroquois; Franklin and other colonial (later revolutionary) leaders learned much from the native federation of perhaps fifteen thousand American Indians, which held together a system of alliances stretching from the Hudson to the James and Saint Lawrence rivers, to its furthest border near the Mississippi. What Franklin proposed in 1754 "came in part from the Iroquois. . . . Here indeed was an example worth copying."[41]

In examining Franklin's interest in Native American society, the modern reader must realize that Indians played an extremely important and central role in American history until the 1830s. American Indians had a marked impact on almost every phase of English colonial life. Tribes and confederacies such as the Iroquois often held the balance of power between the French and the British in North America. Indians were not a subdued people. They lived in their own towns and strongholds beyond the Euro-American frontier. Their political importance as allies, counselors, and adversaries cannot be overestimated.[42] Indeed, the process of treatymaking and protocol was often dictated by Iroquois norms.

At no time were native people in America more influential in the politics of Europe than during the middle of the eighteenth century, and, at that time, no confederacy was more influential than that of the Iroquois. The Iroquois Confederacy controlled the only relatively level land route between the English colonies and French settlements ringing the Saint Lawrence valley; they maintained alliances with virtually every other Indian nation bordering either cluster of European settlements. It was in this context, as France and Britain wrestled for hegemony in North America, that some of the men who would do the most to shape the new United States (Franklin being the most prominent of these) cut their diplomatic and military teeth by maintaining alliances with the Iroquois and their native allies. Thus, by first serving British interests, future revolutionaries were able to absorb the native ideas that they would later pose in opposition to British tyranny in the colonies.

The economic significance of native groups also cannot be underestimated. New immigrants to the eastern seaboard of North America, who settled in the fledgling cities or on frontier farms, were directly affected by Indian control of the frontier, since it inhibited unbridled westward movement. The fur trade was a vital part of the economy for such cities as Albany and Philadelphia. In fact, the whole commercial structure of the colonial economy was based on Indian labor, which supplied traders with furs and peltry. Franklin knew that Indians could subvert this commercial structure by simply refusing to trap and hunt. Hence, Indians were an economic factor that influenced the nature of both the colonial and European economies—from the wages of a Philadelphia counting-house clerk to the decisions on taxation and defense policy that the British foreign ministers made at Whitehall in England.[43]

The colonists figured into Whitehall's financial equation as well, as England looked for ways to pay the debts it had incurred in its long war with France. New taxes were being readied for the colonists, many of whom felt they should bear no part of Britain's military burdens. These settlers also were beginning to develop a distinctly American identity and to display it using Native American imagery as a symbolic prelude to revolution; as rebellion built to revolution, American liberty would come dressed as a Mohawk.

7

MOHAWKS, AXES, AND TAXES

Symbolic identity as a prelude to revolution

Rally Mohawks, and bring your axes
And tell King George we'll pay no taxes
on his foreign tea;

His threats are vain, and vain to think
To force our girls and wives to drink
his vile Bohea!
Then rally, boys, and hasten on
To meet our chiefs at the Green Dragon!

Our Warren's here, and bold Revere
With hands to do and words to cheer,
for liberty and laws;
Our country's "braves" and firm defenders
shall ne'er be left by true North Enders
fighting freedom's cause!
Then rally, boys, and hasten on
To meet our chiefs at the Green Dragon.

—Song from Boston Tea Party[1]

Few events of the revolutionary era are as deeply engraved on America's popular memory as the Boston Tea Party. Nearly everyone, regardless of level of sophistication in matters American and revolutionary, knows that the patriots who dumped tea into Boston Harbor dressed as American Indians—Mohawks, specifically. As to *why* the

Boston Sons of Liberty chose this particular form of disguise, history has been less forthcoming. Judging by the dearth of commentary on the matter, one might conclude that it was chosen out of sheer convenience, as if Paul Revere and a band of late eighteenth-century revelers had stopped by a costume shop on their way to the wharf and found that the "Mohawk model" was the only one available in quantity on short notice.[2]

Boston's patriots were hardly so indiscriminate. Their tea party was a form of symbolic protest—one step beyond random violence, one step short of organized, armed rebellion—and they had chosen their symbols with utmost care. As the imported tea symbolized British tyranny and burdensome taxation, so the image of the Indian represented its antithesis: a "trademark" for an emerging American identity and a revolutionary symbol for liberty in a new land—not only in Boston but also in cities along the length of the Atlantic coast. The tea parties were not spur-of-the-moment pranks, but the culmination of a decade of colonial frustration with British authority.

The image of the Indian (particularly the Mohawk) also appeared at about the same time, in the same context, in revolutionary songs, slogans, and engravings. Paul Revere, whose "midnight rides" became legend in the hands of Longfellow, played a crucial role in forging this sense of identity by contributing to the revolutionary cause a set of remarkable engravings that cast an American Indian woman as America's first national symbol, long before Brother Jonathan or Uncle Sam came along.[3]

In 1760, Boston was America's greatest port, the major market town of the English colonies. The city lived on trade, and its major stock in trade was rum, the liquid that lubricated the infamous "triangular trade" among America, Europe, Africa, and the West Indies, which had populated the Americas with slaves. Crooked cobblestone streets ran down its hills to Boston Harbor. Congested, built of rickety wood, the city was prey to fires, averaging one city-ravaging blaze a decade. When Bostonians were not fighting fires, they often battled smallpox; six epidemics had swept the city in eighty years.

Massachusetts Bay had become Britain's most troublesome American colony by 1760, although resentment of imperial authority simmered all along the coast, especially in the larger cities. As this resentment became organized into rebellion, colonists formed the Sons of Liberty in 1765 to resist the Stamp Act. By the spring of 1766, the Sons of Liberty had an office in New York from which they sent "their correspondence . . . throughout the different Provinces."[4] As the unrest grew and the British began reinforcing their troops in New York

City, the local Sons of Liberty sent "Belts of Wampum" to the Six Nations and asked the Iroquois "to intercept his Majesty's troops on their march."[5] After corresponding with the Iroquois, the patriots erected a "pine post," which they called "the Tree of Liberty," where they conducted their daily exercises (see figure 16).[6]

A major cause of this organized rebellion (and the escalating British response) was the Stamp Act, one of a number of measures imposed to help Britain pay the enormous debts from the Seven Years' War, which had ended in 1763. An engraving by Paul Revere in 1765 portrays the Stamp Act as a monster being attacked by America's "free born sons" (see figure 17). As a result of the war, Great Britain's national debt had doubled to 140 million pounds sterling, a figure every bit as alarming to the Crown's ledger keepers as the United States' national debt (also inflated by "global responsibilities") seems today.

As they had done at Albany in 1754, the colonists once again consulted with the Iroquois about unity and military aid. Although one can only speculate, the Iroquois probably advised the Sons of Liberty of the importance of a strong union ("Tree of Peace") in the resistance to British tyranny. According to his biographer, John Rutledge of South Carolina was exposed to Iroquois political theory at the age of twenty-six, while attending the Stamp Act Congress in New York in the fall of 1765; at the Constitutional Convention, Rutledge would later recall this experience with the Iroquois.[7] In the eyes of the rebellious American colonists, the Iroquois symbolized autonomy and a new American identity. These ideas and symbols of the Iroquois would become pervasive as the Revolution approached.

The colonists used the American Indian as a national symbol in their earliest protests of war taxes. In an engraving titled "The Great Financier, or British Economy for the Years 1763, 1764 and 1765," George Grenville, first lord of the treasury, holds a balance, which a subordinate loads with rubbish. (See figure 18.) Lord William Pitt, who urged restraint in taxation of the colonists, leans on a crutch at one side as a kneeling Indian, representing the colonies, groans under the burden of royal taxes. In this early engraving, America was shown enduring the load, but within a dozen years the same symbol assumed a more aggressive stance, pointing an arrow at the heart of the oppressor —a prelude to armed insurrection by the colonists themselves.

The Crown rationalized these taxes by telling the colonists they ought to pay for their own defense. Not surprisingly, the colonists thought that England ought to pay its own bills. Taxation thus became the major focus of colonial resentment, breeding resistance and, ultimately, revolution. The earl of Bute, the Crown's head tax collector,

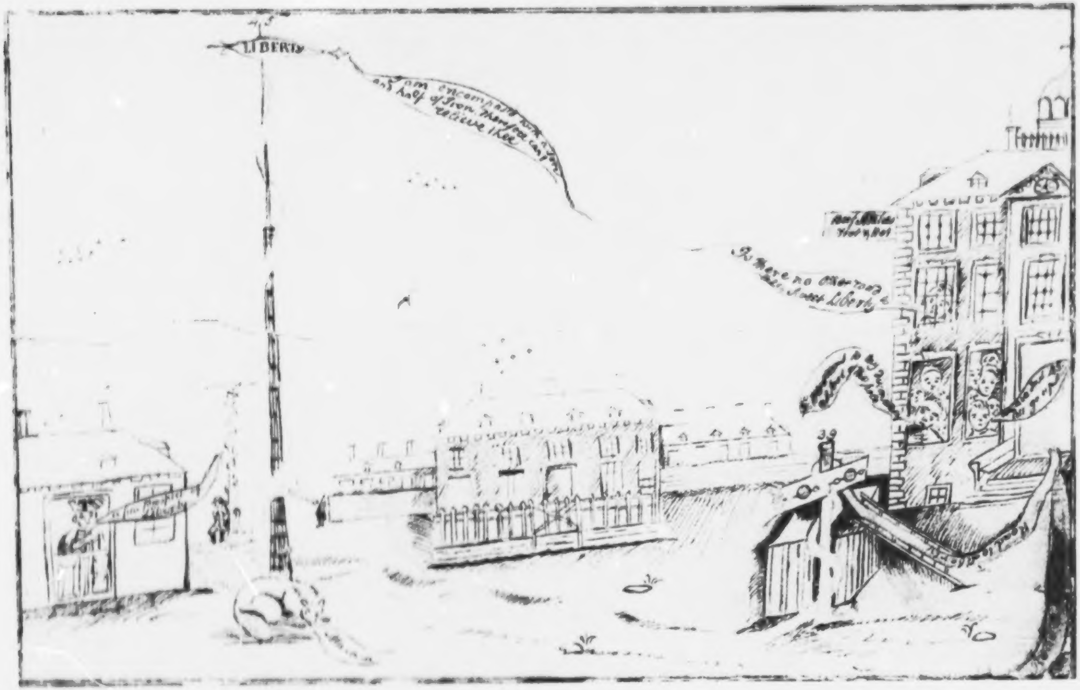


FIGURE 16. Liberty Pole, New York, 1770. Pen and ink drawing in P. E. Du Simitière Papers, Acc. #396.f. vol. 2. Courtesy of Library Company of Philadelphia.

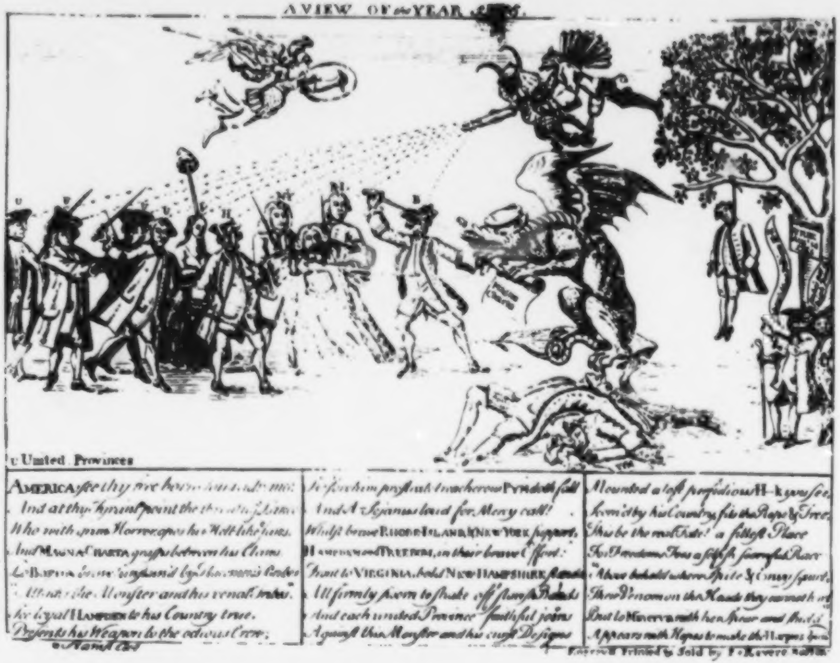

A VIEW OF the YEAR
United Provinces

FIGURE 17. "A View of the Year 1765." Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

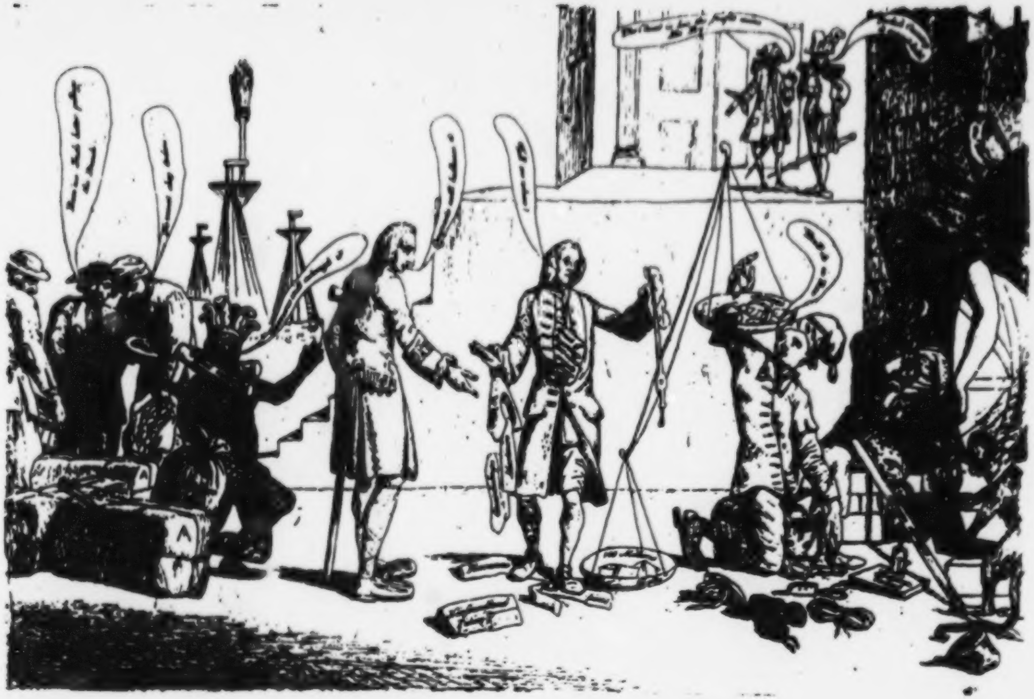


FIGURE 18. "America Bears England's Rubbish." Courtesy of the British Museum.

and Lord Grenville, its major overseas tax enforcer, warned King George III that capitulation to American agitation would only invite more rebellion. Not only were the king's advisors correct, but they even became a part of America's revolutionary heritage as targets for colonial satirists as well as symbolically potent Indian arrows.

A brief truce was called in 1766, however, after more moderate advisors to King George III had prevailed on him to repeal the Stamp Act. Bostonians regarded the repeal as a victory, and the celebrations began with the ringing of church bells at one o'clock Monday morning, 19 May 1766. "By two, the cannons on Castle Island were booming, drums beat, and musicians, while still it was dark, went through the streets playing violins and flutes. By dawn, it was seen that the Liberty Tree was hung to its topmost with flags, streamers, banners . . . [and] everyone poured into the soft spring air to see the wonder of it all."[8] For an entire night, Boston celebrated.

Revere had designed a commemorative obelisk for the occasion, which was made of oiled paper and was large enough to carry three hundred lanterns inside. Here, for the first time, he used the figure of an Indian as a patriotic symbol. The first of four panels depicts an oppressed America; the Indian, dejected, lies under a pine tree as his oppressors approach him—the prime minister (carrying a chain) and Lord Bute (caricatured as a flying devil in tartan with the Stamp Act in his claw)—trying to crowd out the angel of liberty. (See figure 19.)

On the second panel of the obelisk, as Liberty raises her trumpet, the victorious Indian, who has already risen to one knee, points over his shoulder to the retreating British lords, the victims of a cloudburst. On the third panel, an eagle (another national symbol adopted from Native American cultures) feeds her young atop yet another borrowed symbol, the Liberty Tree (the Great White Pine of the Iroquois), as the angel looks on and blesses the scene. The final panel finds King George III at last introducing America (the Indian figure) to the Goddess of Liberty.

The plan had been to carry Revere's huge obelisk from his shop to the festooned Liberty Tree, but it caught fire, perhaps the victim of its own lanterns. Although Revere's creation lay in a heap of ashes and oil stain by morning, it was preserved for the historical record in the form of an engraving.

The political spring was short-lived. Parliament quickly readied new taxes, or rather old taxes under new names, for the colonies. Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer, secured King George's approval for the Revenue Act of 1767, which imposed taxes on goods such as paper, glass, and tea. Colonial resistance stiffened again, so

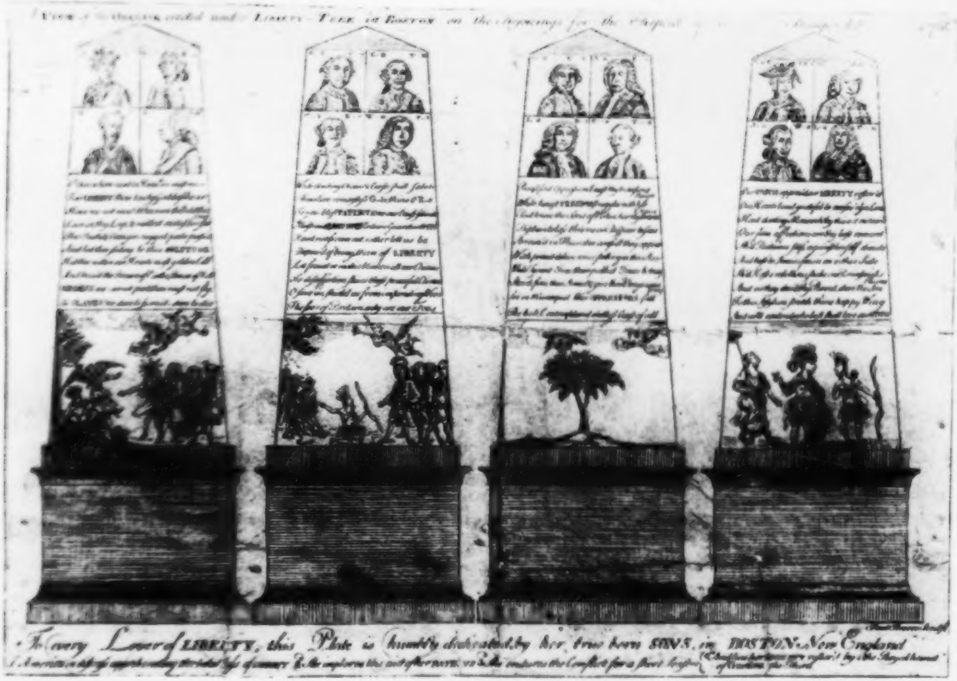

To every Lover of LIBERTY, this Plate is humbly dedicated, by her true born SONS, in BOSTON, New England

FIGURE 19. Obelisk. Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

much so that a tense Boston found itself under British occupation in 1768. On 30 September Revere stood on a Boston street corner and watched as a thousand British regulars occupied his city in order to force compliance with these universally unpopular tax laws. He noted that the soldiers "formed and marched with insolent parade, drums beating, fifes playing, each soldier having received sixteen rounds of powder and ball."[9] Joseph Quincey provided the following description of the siege: "With muskets charged, bayonets fixed," and "a complete train of artillery, the troops took possession of the Common, the statehouse, the court-house and Faneuil Hall . . . the town wore the aspect of a garrison. Counsellors, as they entered the council-chamber, and citizens as they passed and repassed on their private business, were challenged by sentinels."[10] Benjamin Franklin, in London trying to resolve the situation, wrote to George Whitefield that the order to occupy Boston was "like setting up a smith's forge to a magazine of gunpowder."[11]

Although most colonists were as yet unwilling to take up arms against Britain and her taxes, an organized resistance had begun to form. In fact, Revere had been one of the first members of this movement—the Sons of Liberty, a clandestine society of rebels led by Samuel Adams. The Boston Tea Party was only one of its many acts of agitation, propaganda, and creative political mischief. The "Liberty Boys" tormented Tories and their supporters, often stripping, tarring, and feathering tax collectors, only to see them walk free at the hands of sympathetic colonial juries. While Boston's "Mohawk River Indians" were the most famous, local units (many of which had also named themselves after native peoples) had formed in most colonial cities. It was because of their widespread use of American Indian imagery that a member such as John Pulling would become infamous among the British as "a bully of the Mohawk Tribe."[12] The "Mohawks" and other "tribes" would soon form the nucleus of a revolutionary armed force, but in the early years, their main business was what a later generation would call "guerrilla theater."

Since the levying of a tax on imported tea in 1767, colonial patriots had organized a boycott of British tea brought to America by the East India Company. One aspect of their strategy was to promote the consumption of "Indian tea" (also called Labradore or New Jersey tea), which was made from the redroot herb that grew profusely in many New England swamps. Boosters of "Indian tea" invented stories to spur its consumption; one such fable claimed that "Indian tea" had become so popular in France that the East India Company was trying to force a ban on its exportation. Verse found in colonial newspapers often used a dash of sex appeal to promote the patriotic brew.

Throw aside your Bohea and Green Hyson Tea, and all
things with a new-fashioned duty;
Procure a good store of the choice Labradore
For there'll soon be enough here to suit ye;

These, do without fear, and to all you'll soon appear
Fair, charming, true, lovely and clever;
Though the times remain darkish, young men may be sparkish,
and love you much stronger than ever.[13]

The burning of a British ship that was hunting down smugglers in 1772 was another part of the patriots' campaign against the "detested tea," a symbol of British tyranny. Dutch smugglers, for instance, had been illegally supplying New Englanders with up to eighty percent of their imported tea for several years;[14] and the British warehouses of the East India Company, the largest mercantile organization of its time, were filled to overflowing with seven years' supply of unsold tea. By imposing a colonial monopoly on tea as a well as a tax, the British government found a way not only to raise additional revenue but also to save the East India Company from bankruptcy. The unpopular captain of the *Gaspée* was engaged in the protection of the British tea monopoly. On 9 June 1772, his ship ran aground near Providence, Rhode Island after pursuing smugglers off the coast of New England. Were it not for his blunder, the American Revolution might not have occurred.[15] As it was, however, a group of local men and boys responded to the call of a drum that evening in Providence; after some discussion, they allegedly dressed up as American Indians, rowed out to the *Gaspée,* and burned it in protest of British authority. Dressing as Indians had become a way to assert the new identity that was emerging as the colonists became more restive under British rule.[16]

After the burning of the *Gaspée,* secret committees of correspondence were regularized in most of the colonies by 1773 and coordinated their efforts through special messengers on horseback, of whom Paul Revere would become the best known. The purpose of the committees was to promote unity[17] and was summed up in an article in a Rhode Island newspaper.

> The union of the colonies which is now taking place, is big with the most important advantage to this continent. From this union will result our security from all foreign enemies; for none will dare to invade us against the combined force of these colonies, nor will a British Parliament dare to attack our liberties, when we are united to defend them. . . . In this union every colony will feel the strength of the whole; for if one is invaded all will unite their wisdom and power in her defence.

> In this way the weakest will become strong, and America will soon be the glory of the world, and the terror of the wicked oppressors among nations.[18]

On 18 October 1773, two months before the Boston Tea Party, the Pennsylvania legislature condemned the tea tax and urged the East India Company's agents to resign their commissions. A patriot's committee paid less-than-cordial visits to the agents to inform them that selling tea in Pennsylvania could be hazardous to their health; some agents in Philadelphia resigned and booked immediate passage for England. The Philadelphia Committee for Tarring and Feathering issued a similar warning to pilots entering the Delaware River with British tea: "What think you of a Halter around your neck, then gallons of liquid tar decanted on your pate, with the feathers of a dozen live geese laid over that to enliven your appearance?"[19]

From Charlestown to New York, committees of "Mohawks" mobilized to meet the incoming tea. In New York City, a broadside signed by "The Mohawks" warned that those who aided in the landing of British tea could expect "an unwelcome visit, in which they shall be treated as they deserve."[20] The New York patriots, however, were forced to back down rather than risk a mauling by General Gage and two divisions of redcoat regulars under his command. In Charlestown both sides decided that their rhetoric had outgrown the issue. The "Mohawks" stayed inside, as did the tea; the agents quietly padlocked it in wharfside warehouses and hoped to sell it when the issue cooled. It never did.

Boston's patriots were not known for their civility toward British authorities or loyalists; the "Mohawks," however, were renowned for their methods in opposition to the tea tax, which sparked similar physical confrontations up and down the coast. On 3 November 1773, about one thousand people met around Boston's Liberty Tree to condemn the Tea Act. After that meeting, protesters marched to the waterfront and presented East India Company agents with letters of resignation, complete except for their signatures. When the agents refused to resign, several other meetings were held. The last one, in and near the Old South Church, rallied roughly five thousand people, which was almost a quarter of Boston's population and the largest public gathering up to that time in British colonial history.

In early December, handbills signed by "A Ranger" warned that if the British tried to put down Boston's protests by force, their soldiers would be met with the same tactics used by the French and their Indian allies to defeat General Braddock twenty years earlier: "We can bush fight them and cut off their officers very easily, and in this way we can subdue them with very little loss."[21] Another handbill, the "Mohawk Tea Proclamation" (which took a different but equally provocative approach), was purported to be the work of "Abrant Kanakartophqua, chief sachem of the Mohawks, King of the Six Nations and Lord of all Their Castles." The broadside asserted that since tea was "an Indian plant," it "of right" belonged to "Indians of every land and tribe." It urged "Indians" to abstain from the "ruinous Liquor Rum," which the British had "poured down our throats, to steal away our Brains." The "Mohawk Tea Proclamation" concluded that British tea should be "poured into the Lakes," and that any true American should be able to break an addiction to European beverages in favor of pure, cold American water.[22]

On Monday, 13 December the people of Boston learned of the resignations of Philadelphia's tea agents. By the time five thousand patriots had gathered at the Old South Meetinghouse the following Thursday, they were ready for action. There they were told that tea was being sold for less in the colonies than in England. Who, then, was the first to "dump" tea? Suddenly, a war whoop went up from the gallery, then another. A line of "Mohawks" formed in the crowd outside the church, their destination—Griffin's Wharf at the foot of Pearl Street. They marched "Indian fashion" [single file] and carried "tomahawks" [axes], shouting "Boston Harbor a tea-pot tonight" and "The Mohawks are come." (See figure 20.) As the first group of "Mohawks" boarded the tea ship *Dartmouth* and began to rip open thirty-five thousand pounds of symbolic oppression, others boarded the *Beaver* and the *Eleanor*. Several thousand people gathered along the waterfront in the cold, dark, drizzly night and cheered as each tea chest hit the water. During the three hours it took to "unload" tea worth ten thousand pounds sterling, the "Mohawks" exchanged words in a secret sign language that used Indian hand symbols, and sang,

Rally Mohawks, and bring your axes
And tell King George we'll pay no taxes
on his foreign tea;

His threats are vain, and vain to think
To force our girls and wives to drink
his vile Bohea!
Then rally, boys, and hasten on
To meet our chiefs at the Green Dragon!

Our Warren's here, and bold Revere
With hands to do and words to cheer,
for liberty and laws;

Our country's "braves" and firm defenders
shall ne'er be left by true North Enders
fighting freedom's cause!
Then rally, boys, and hasten on
To meet our chiefs at the Green Dragon.[23]

After the last of the tea had been dumped, the "Mohawks" marched off the three ships single file and passed by Admiral Montague, who was spending the night with a friend at the foot of Griffin's Wharf.

"Well, boys," Admiral Montague shouted from a window, "You have had a fine, pleasant evening for your Indian caper, haven't you? But mind, you have got to pay the fiddler yet!"

"Never mind," growled the "Mohawk" Lendall Pitts as he waved his "tomahawk" at the admiral. "Never mind, squire, just come down here, if you please, and we'll settle the bill in two minutes!"

Admiral Montague then yanked the window shade shut.[24]

Within hours, Paul Revere had stripped off his Mohawk disguise to begin the first of his "midnight rides," carrying news of the Boston Tea Party to Springfield, Hartford, New Haven, New York City, and Philadelphia. More than eight thousand people gathered at the State House in Philadelphia on 27 December to hear Revere's report, including one unwilling participant: a certain Captain Ayres, captured as he guided the tea ship *Polly* up the Delaware River under cover of darkness. The captain seemed suitably impressed as he was led through the crowd by a group of "American Braves." Most of the assembly (about a quarter of Philadelphia's population) loudly promised to hold a tea party on Ayres's ship if he tried to land any British tea. The next day Ayres sailed south, back to England, with 598 chests of tea still on board.

Throughout the colonies, patriots openly agitated to shut down the tea trade. Newspaper reports ascribed a galaxy of ailments to "the vile Bohea."[25] In a letter to James Warren, John Adams solicited the assistance of the "Vineyard, Mashpee" or "Metapoiset Indians" in intercepting a tea ship reportedly bound for Providence.[26] A peddlar passing through Shrewsbury, Massachusetts was forced by "Indians" to toss his tea onto a hastily built bonfire. Another itinerant trader lost one hundred pounds of tea to a bonfire in Lyme, Connecticut. In March 1774 the British brig *Fortune* arrived in Boston Harbor with twenty-eight tea chests on board. The crew expressed astonishment that this controversial cargo was on board and agreed to return it to England; however, a customs collector named Harrison ordered the tea unloaded. His order was carried out the next evening by "Mohawks" who climbed on board and unloaded all of it—into the harbor.[27]

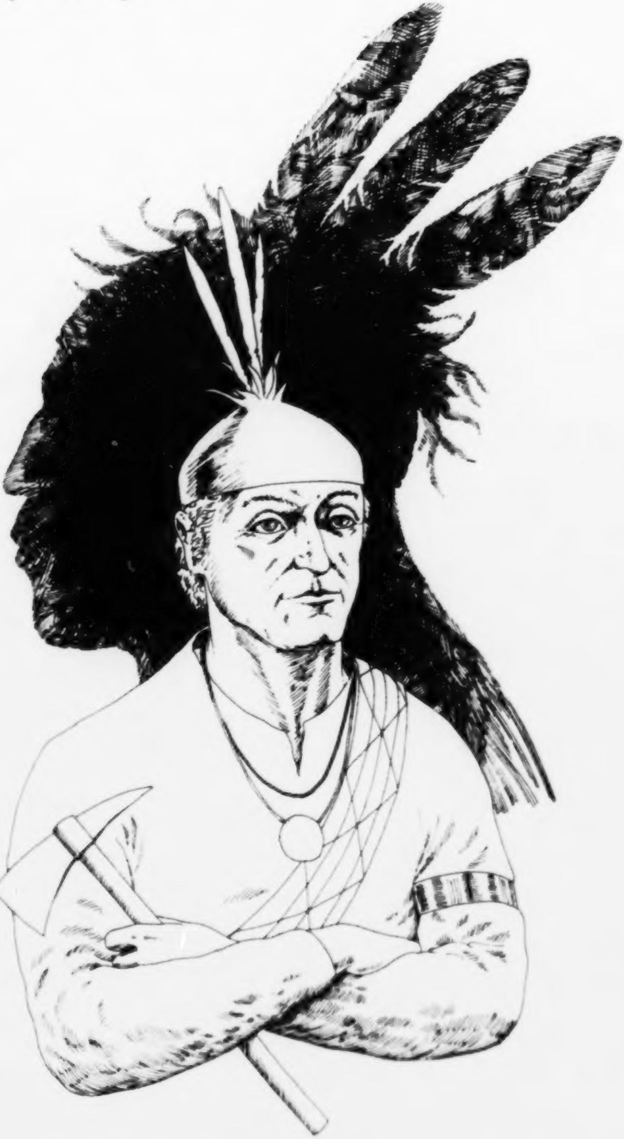


FIGURE 20. "Rally Mohawks, and bring your axes
And tell King George we'll pay no taxes on his foreign tea."
By John Kahionhes Fadden.

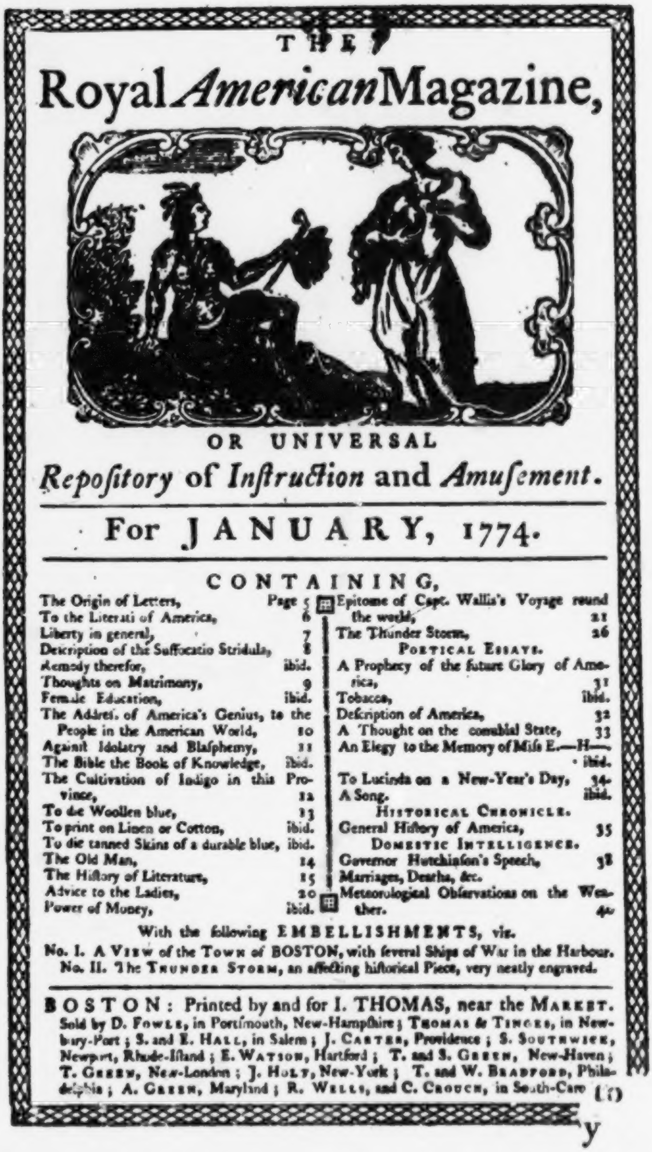
In Weston, Massachusetts, an innkeeper named Isaac Jones stood "trial" for selling "the detested tea"; his "sentence" was to watch as thirty patriots dressed in Indian garb reduced his inn to a shambles. After Annapolis patriots disposed of two thousand pounds of tea aboard the brig *Peggy Stewart*, they burned the ship to her waterline. Students at Princeton College built a tea-fueled bonfire, into which they tossed several effigies of Massachusetts Governor Thomas Hutchinson.[28]

The colonial campaign against the tea tax was successful. In 1773, Britain had exported 738,083 pounds of tea to the American colonies. In 1774, the figure fell to 69,830, which included a drop from 206,312 pounds to 30,161 in New England; 208,385 to 1,304 in New York; and 208,191 pounds to *nothing* in Pennsylvania.[29]

Between the time of the Boston Tea Party and his most famous "midnight ride" in April 1775, Paul Revere created a remarkable series of engravings. The engravings carried messages akin to modern political cartoons and were meant to galvanize public opinion against the British. Many of them used an Indian (usually a woman) as a symbol of independent American identity in much the same way as the Boston Tea Party (which Revere also helped plan and execute) had popularized the "Mohawk" disguise.

In addition to his engravings, Revere also designed the logotype of the *Royal American Magazine*, which showed an Indian figure, representing America, offering a calumet (an American Indian pipe) to the genius of knowledge, a figure out of European mythology—a graphic illustration of the colonists' awareness that America and its native people had something to teach the Old World. (See figure 21.)

One of Revere's engravings, which was published in the *Royal American Magazine*'s June 1774 edition, is an excellent example of the sharply political use to which he put the patriotic symbol of an Indian woman. Entitled *The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught*, it portrays the plight of an Indian woman who is held down by members of the House of Lords and forced to drink "the vile Bohea." Her tormentors include Chief Justice William Murray, the earl of Mansfield, in a wig and judicial robe, who pinions America as Frederick North, prime minister of England (with the Boston Port Act in his pocket) pours the tea down her throat. John Montague, the earl of Sandwich and first lord of the admiralty, occupies his time peering under "America's" skirt, while the infamous Lord Bute provides protection for the assailants with a sword inscribed with the words "Military Law." The bystanders (Spain and France) consider aid for the colonies. In the background, Boston's skyline is labeled "cannonaded"; a petition of



THE

Royal *American* Magazine,

OR UNIVERSAL

Repoſitory of *Inſtruction* and *Amuſement*.

For JANUARY, 1774.

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With the following EMBELLISHMENTS, viz.

No. I. A VIEW of the TOWN of BOSTON, with ſeveral Ships of War in the Harbour.
No. II. The THUNDER STORM, an affecting hiſtorical Piece, very neatly engraved.

BOSTON: Printed by and for I. THOMAS, near the MARKET.
Sold by D. FOWLE, in Portſmouth, New-Hampſhire; THOMAS & TINGES, in Newbury-Port; S. and E. HALL, in Salem; J. CARTER, Providence; S. SOUTHWICK, Newport, Rhode-Iſland; E. WATSON, Hartford; T. and S. GREEN, New-Haven; T. GREEN, New-London; J. HOLT, New-York; T. and W. BRADFORD, Philadelphia; A. GREEN, Maryland; R. WELLS, and C. CROUCH, in South-Caro

(1)

FIGURE 21. *Royal American Magazine.* Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

grievances lies shredded in the foreground, symbolic of the British government's failure to provide justice for America. (See figure 22.) This engraving was inspired by a similar work in England's *London Magazine*, which had appeared two months earlier.

Shortly before this engraving appeared, Franklin summarized the Bostonians' frustration with the British in an open letter, signed by "Fabius," in *The Public Advertiser* of 2 April 1774. The British had just closed Boston's port and had five thousand soldiers in the city—one for every four Bostonians. If Boston Harbor were to remain closed "till the people in that Province acknowledge the Right of Parliament to impose any Taxes or Duties whatever" (which is what the Crown insisted), then, Franklin pledged, it would "remain closed until the very name of Parliament is forgotten among them. You may shut up their ports, one by one," and "you may reduce their Cities to Ashes; but the Flame of Liberty in North America shall not be extinguished. Cruelty and Oppression and Revenge shall only serve as Oil to increase the Fire."[30]

Franklin scoffed at proposals made the following November that Boston ought to negotiate a treaty with Britain while its port was closed and the city itself was under occupation. The British "will plead at ease, but we must plead in pain," Franklin argued. He compared Boston's position to that of the Aztec king, Montezuma (Moctezuma II), in the hands of the conquistador Cortes, who demanded "a surrender of his cash." The Aztec "made some objections and desired *a treaty* on the reasonableness of the demand." So, "Cortes heated a gridiron red hot, and seated poor Montezuma on it, and consented to *treat* with him as long as he pleased [emphasis in the original]."[31]

Revere used another English engraving as a model for his *America in Distress*, which was published in the March 1775 edition of the *Royal American Magazine*, just one month before his "midnight ride"; however, he made one enormously significant change. In the British version (which had been published in the *Oxford Magazine* during February 1770) the damsel in distress is Britannia, shown with a shield at her side. In her place, Revere substituted an American Indian woman, flanked by a quiver of arrows, a bow, and a feather headdress. (See figure 23.)

Lord North stands at the left, in front, proclaiming, "She is Mad" and "must be Chained!" Behind Lord North, Lord Bute says, "Secure Her now, or it is all over with Us!" Lord Mansfield, in his judicial robes, joins in with, "She must lose more Blood. Petitions are Rebellious." Thomas Hutchinson, governor of Massachusetts, is pictured as a loyal crony of the British lords. "Right, my Lord," he concurs. "Penalties of that kind seem best adapted."

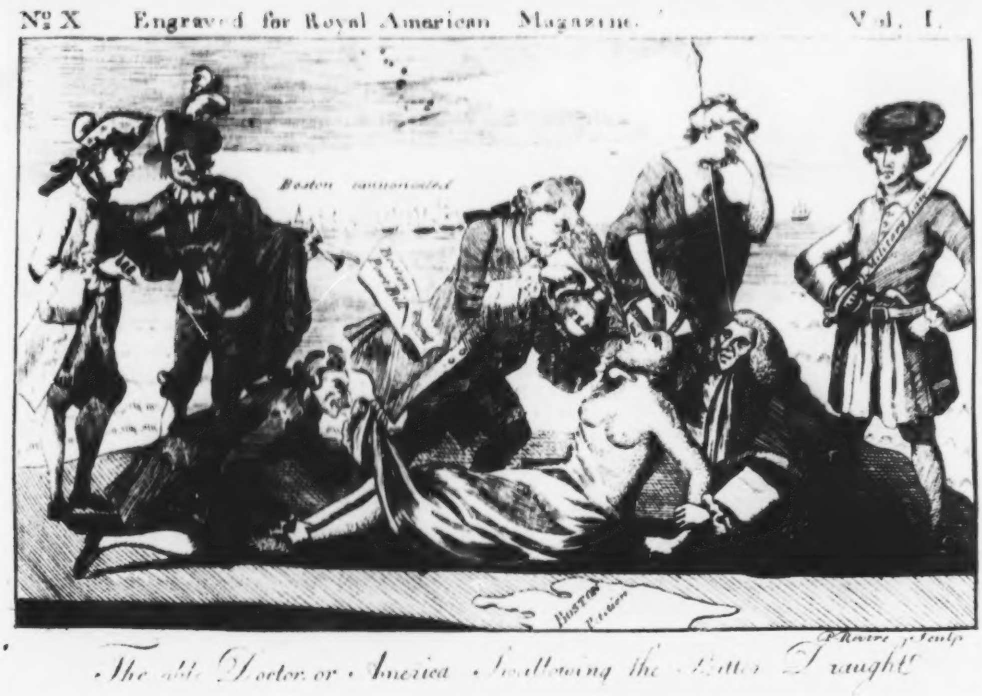

Nº X Engraved for Royal American Magazine. Vol. I.
Boston cannonaded
Boston Port Bill
Military Law
Boston Petition
P. Revere sculp
The able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught

FIGURE 22. "The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught." Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

These engravings, made in the midst of preparations for war, were only part of Revere's contributions to the revolutionary cause. He also took part in the more direct actions of the Boston Sons of Liberty. While the redcoats busied themselves with building fortifications, which Revere (himself a veteran of the war with the French) ridiculed as "beaver dams," the Sons of Liberty went on the offensive.[32] The British had trouble getting much of anything done: Wagonloads of straw were waylaid; shiploads of bricks sank at sea on clear days; and hired hands leaned on their shovels. General Gage was even forced to send to Nova Scotia for workmen when it became obvious that colonial Bostonians would not work for the British military, not only for political reasons but also because of the low wages offered.

In December 1774, Revere helped plan the seizure of Fort William and Mary. The patriots waded through the icy waters of Portsmouth Harbor under the stark moonlight of a clear, cold winter's night, surprised the understaffed British force, and stole ninety-seven kegs of powder and about a hundred firearms, which they then hid in a pit under the pulpit of a local meetinghouse.

Revere was not the only artist to use the Indian as a symbol for liberty and America during the revolutionary period. Drawn on the eve of the Declaration of Independence, this engraving (figure 24) is believed to have been the work of Henry Dawkins of Philadelphia. Here, patriots are again represented as Indians; but instead of shouldering Britain's burdens as they had a dozen years earlier, these Indians aim their arrows across the Atlantic Ocean, straight at the prime minister's heart. British officials line the English shore, discussing the tea crisis and related events. On the North American side, their supporters, the Tories, do the same. They are distinguished from the rebels by their European garb.

Standing at the English shore, Lord North eyes the arrow aimed at him and says, "We must manage this business with a great deal of Art; Or I see we shall not succeed." Lord Bute replies, "God's curse Mon, ye mun [must]." A director of the East India Company hopes that "we may be able to establish our Monopoly in America." The fourth figure from the right is "The Infamous K[ ]y" (Dr. John Kearsley of Philadelphia, an outspoken loyalist), who says "Gov. T[ ]n will cram the tea down the Throats of the New Yorkers!" Next to him stands "Belzebub [*sic*], The Prince of Devils," who invites Kearsley to take advantage of the situation. "Speak in favour of ye Scheme. Now's the time to push your fortune." A publicist for the tea tax (Mr. Poplicola) tells the tea company director that "I have prostituted my reason and my Conscience to serve you, and therefore am entitled to some reward." At

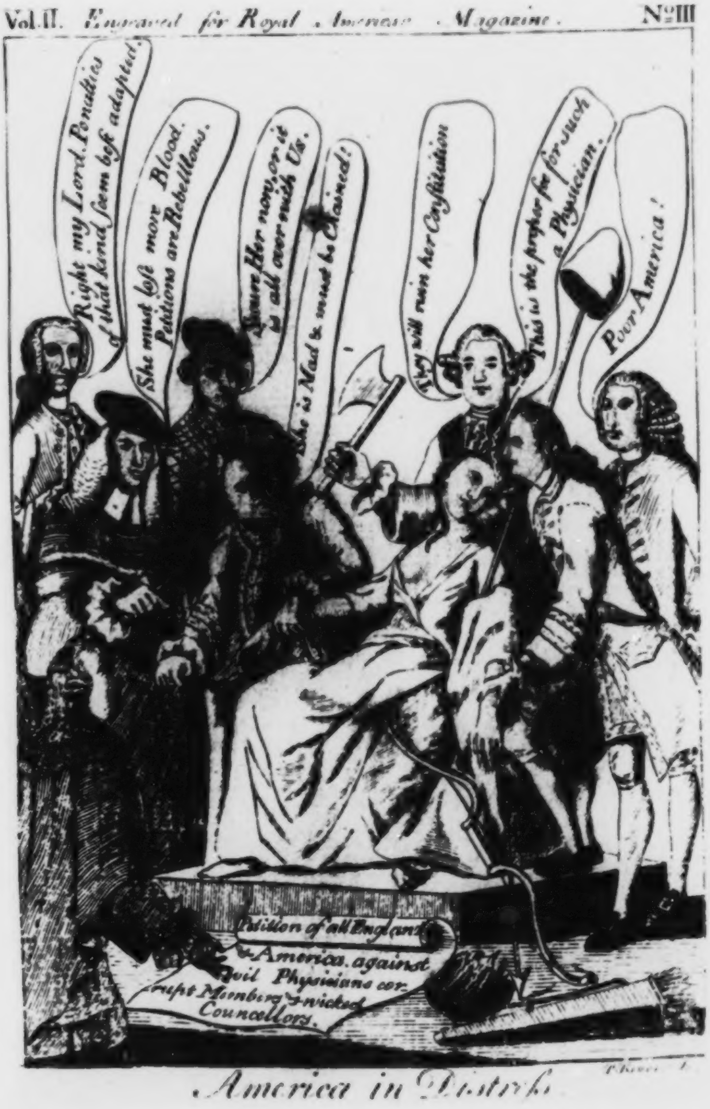

Vol.II. Engraved for Royal American Magazine. NºIII
Right my Lord. Penalties of that kind seem best adapted.
She must lose more Blood. Petitions are Rebellious.
Secure Her now, or it is all over with Us.
She is Mad & must be Chained!
They will ruin her Constitution
This is the proper fee for such a Physician.
Poor America!
Petition of all England & America against evil Physicians corrupt Members & wicked Councellors.
America in Distress.

FIGURE 23. "America in Distress." Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

the upper left, Britannia weeps, as an angel asks, "Why so much distress?" She replies, "The conduct of those my degenerate Sons will break my Heart."

The artist has labeled the Tories on the American side as "A Group of Disappointed Americans who were for landing the Tea, In hopes of share [*sic*] in the Plunder of their Country." They are a miserable chorus.

> The People have discovered our design to divide them [and] we shall never be able to regain their confidence.
>
> I am ready to die with grief and vexation at our Disapointment [*sic*]: as it will blast my hopes of preferment.
>
> Damn the Bostonians, they have been a great means for frustrating our design.
>
> We must now make a Virtue of necessity [and] join against landing the Tea.
> I approve of your Scheme as it will save appearances with the People who are easily deceived.
>
> Agreed.
>
> Agreed.

The "Indians,"' of course, are a people of more action and fewer words, nearly all of which bespeak liberty. Their leader is a woman; as she points her arrow across the Atlantic, she says, "Aid me my Sons, and prevent my being Fetter'd." The other "Indians," her Sons of Liberty, answer, "We will secure your freedom, or die in the Attempt. Lead us on, to Liberty or Death. Lead on, Lead on."

At the upper right, the Goddess of Liberty addresses Fame, while pointing to the patriots. "Behold the ardour of my Sons, and let not their brave actions be buried in oblivion." Fame agrees to her request and replies, "I will Trumpet their Noble Deeds, from Pole to Pole."

Many other Native American symbols were incorporated into revolutionary iconography. In 1775, as Revere created his engravings, "The Pine Tree Flag" was adopted as one of the first flags of the emerging United States.[33] The same tree, the Great White Pine, had been used as a national symbol for centuries by the Iroquois as well as several other Indian confederacies in the Northeast. James Wilson referred to Iroquois chain imagery earlier that year when he stated that

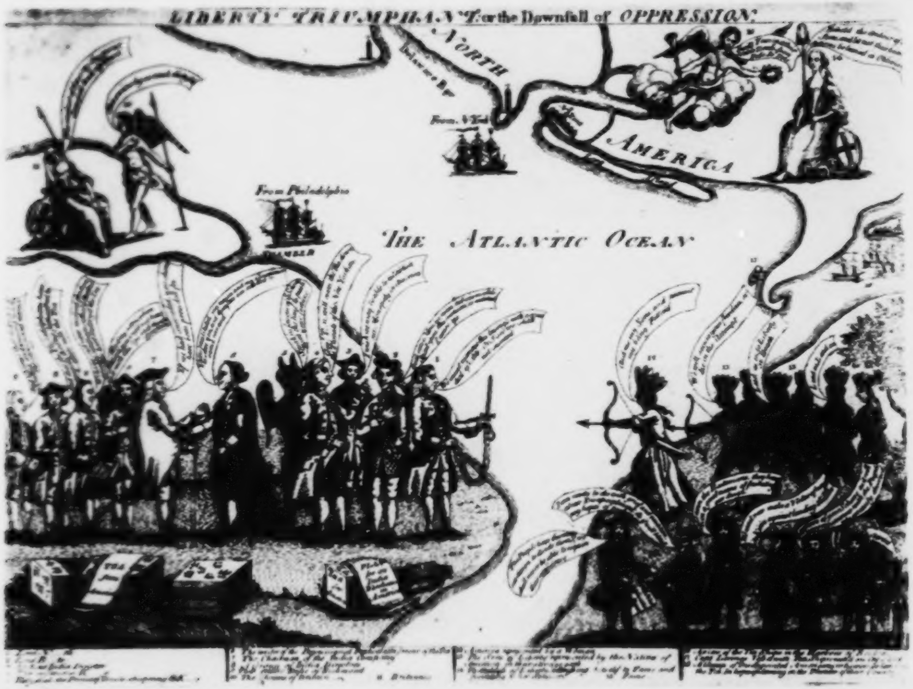

LIBERTY TRIUMPHANT; or the Downfall of OPPRESSION.
NORTH
AMERICA
THE ATLANTIC OCEAN
From Philadelphia
From N. York

FIGURE 24. "Liberty Triumphant; or the Downfall of Oppression." Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

a "chain of freedom has been formed . . . to preserve the greatest of human blessings . . . liberty."[34]

An anonymous engraving, *The Female Combatants* (from the beginning of the Revolutionary War in 1776), pits an English woman in an enormous beehive hairdo against her daughter America, an Indian woman. The English woman says, "I'll force you to Obedience, you Rebellious Slut," to which America replies, "Liberty, Liberty forever, Mother, while I exist." (See figure 25.)

In 1780, three years before the Revolution was concluded by treaty, the provisional government of Massachusetts felt confident enough of its sovereignty to commission the creation of a state seal (see figure 26). Paul Revere engraved the seal, according to the instructions given him.

> An Indian dressed in his shirt, [moccasins], belted proper—in his right hand a bow—in his left, an arrow, its point toward the base. . . . [O]n the dexter [right] side of [the] Indian's head, a star for one of the United States of America—on the . . . dexter arm clothed and ruffled proper, [he] grasp[s] a broad sword, the pommel and hilt with this motto: "*Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem* [By the sword we seek peace, but peace only under liberty]." And around the seal: "*Sigillum Reipublicae Massachusettensis* [Seal of the Republic (or Commonwealth) of Massachusetts]."[35]

Few better graphic examples of the fusion of Native American and European civilizations exist. Until the 1750s the word *American* had been almost always applied exclusively to American Indians. To make a revolution, the colonists first had to recognize themselves as Americans. Beholden to their ancestral lands by culture, history, and tradition, the colonists were able to distinguish their own identities by borrowing from America's native inhabitants in order to create a new amalgam: this "new man," "the American" (in the words of Crèvecoeur)—half Indian, half European.[36]

The use of a Native American, usually a woman, as a national symbol of the emerging United States was widespread throughout the colonies and Europe. *The Deplorable State of America,* a satirical print by Charles Auste-Couder, was based on stories in the London press detailing opposition to the Stamp Act. The print shows Britannia offering Pandora's box (the Stamp Act) to America, who is personified as an Indian in feathered headdress, carrying a bow and quiver. The Indian appeals to Minerva. "Secure me, O Goddess by thy Wisdom, for I abhor" the Stamp Act "as Death." The Goddess of Liberty, pinned to the ground by a thistle (symbolic of Lord Bute and Britain's military apparatus that he once commanded), exclaims, "All is over with me!"[37]

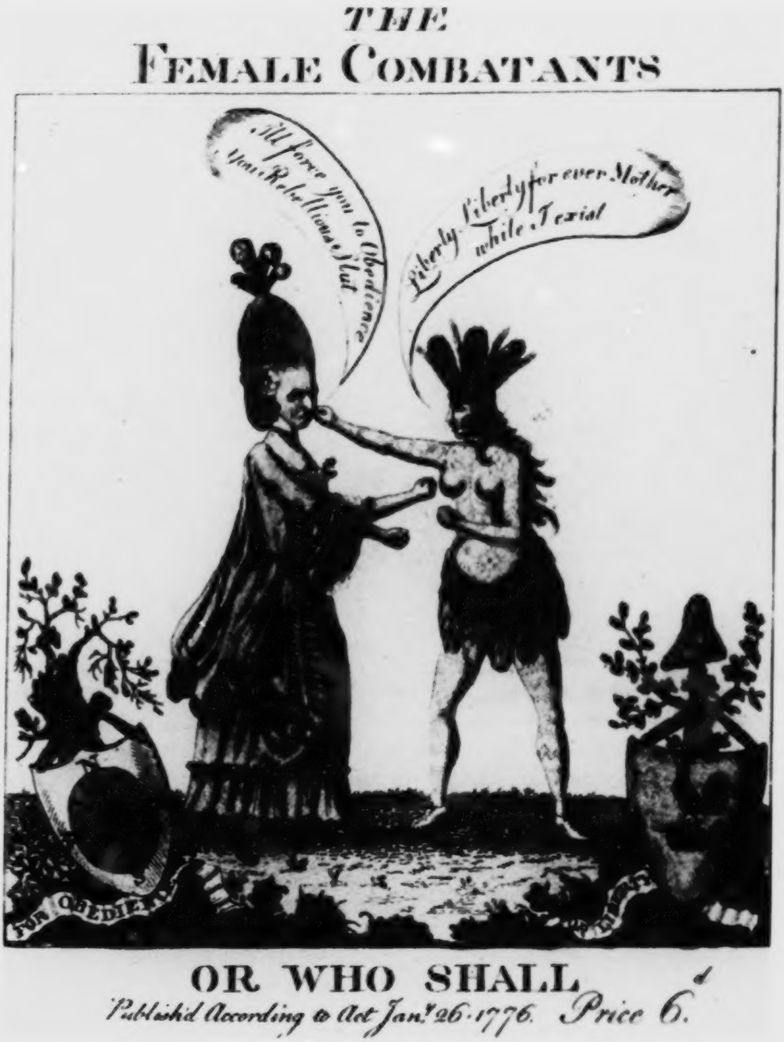
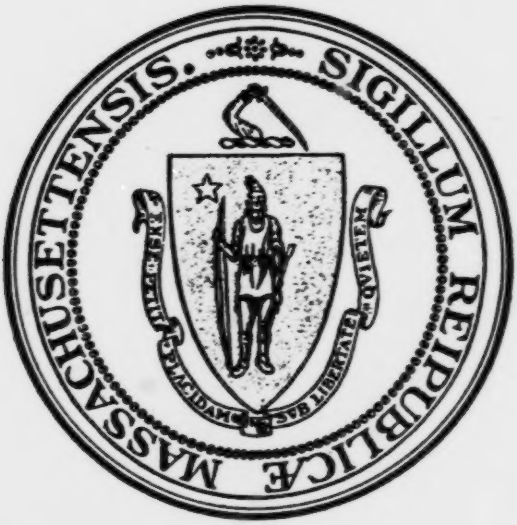

THE
FEMALE COMBATANTS
I'll force you to Obedience you Rebellious Slut
Liberty, Liberty for ever Mother while I exist
FOR OBEDIENCE
FOR LIBERTY
OR WHO SHALL
Publish'd According to Act Jany 26·1776. Price 6d.

FIGURE 25. Courtesy of Historical Pictures Service, Chicago.


SIGILLUM REIPUBLICÆ MASSACHUSETTENSIS.
ENSE PETIT PLACIDAM SUB LIBERTATE QUIETEM

Great Seal of the
Commonwealth of Massachusetts

DESIGN ADOPTED JUNE 14, 1898

FIGURE 26.

In *Bunker's Hill, or the Blessed Effects of Family Quarells* (by an unknown artist), America, again personified as an Indian, battles Britannia. In May 1782, as the revolutionary war came to an end, another artist used the same symbols—this time in an embrace.[38] Carl Gottlieb depicted *The Tea-tax Tempest, or, the Anglo-American Revolution* in a 1788 drawing by using four female figures—one each for America, Europe, Africa, and Asia. America, an Indian, looks on as the teapot explodes, symbolic of her revolution; the pot is warmed by a fire built with revenue stamps.[39] *Independent America*, a pen-and-ink drawing by Antoine Borel (1779), represents America as an Indian woman who is being presented to France by Mercury, the ancient god of commerce—a graphic representation of the alliance forged between the two nations. Overhead, Fame trumpets the news to the world.[40]

This representational style continued well into the nineteenth century and was often combined with symbols from Greek and Roman mythology. According to Hugh Honour in *The European Vision of America,* in these "allegories, and even in the cartoons, America continued to be represented by the exotic feather-tinctured Indian, often shown in the company of such figures from classical mythology as Minerva and Mercury."[41] The period's artwork reflected the popular assumption that Native American societies provided Euro-Americans with a window on their own ancient "Golden Age."

Similar symbols appeared in the tapestries and furniture of the period. Two representative examples are housed today in New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art. In a tapestry of four panels, each depicting a continent, America has again been fashioned as an indigenous woman—feathers around her head and waist, carrying a bow, with a quiver of arrows at her feet. The Indian woman clings to the Goddess of Liberty under the new flag of the United States of America. Plenty and Peace recline on a carpet of clouds. France surges ahead of this felicitous group and hurls a lightning bolt at Britannia, who lies on the ground amidst wrecked cannon, barely able to lift her shield. Above cowering Britannia, Fame attaches a medallion, which has a portrait of George Washington on it, to a Tuscan column. (See figure 27.)

The mixture of Native American imagery with that of ancient Greece and Rome gained such wide acceptance that it seemed to be an axiom. These images became tightly intertwined in the minds of America's founders as they sought viable alternatives to the monarchal order of Europe. Although native societies provided the patriots with (what they believed to be) a window on Europe's democratic past, the societies of Greece and Rome, unlike their Native American equivalents, were, in fact, patriarchal. The concept of an Indian woman as a patriotic symbol, therefore, was not completely integrated into the political framework in which it so often appeared and may have had more to do with presenting a patriotic counterpart to the female Britannia (see figure 28).

The other piece from the Metropolitan Museum of Art is a sofa back from the same period (see figure 29), which shows France presenting America to Europe with the Atlantic Ocean (represented by Neptune) in the background. America, once again an Indian, stands at the left-hand shore and holds a bundle of rods symbolizing the federation of states—later popularized by Franklin and others to such an extent that it ended up in the eagle's talons on the Great Seal of the United States.

The characterization of America's colonists as Indians was mimicked, in a less complimentary fashion, by Tory satirists. The following example came from the pen of Jonathan Odell:

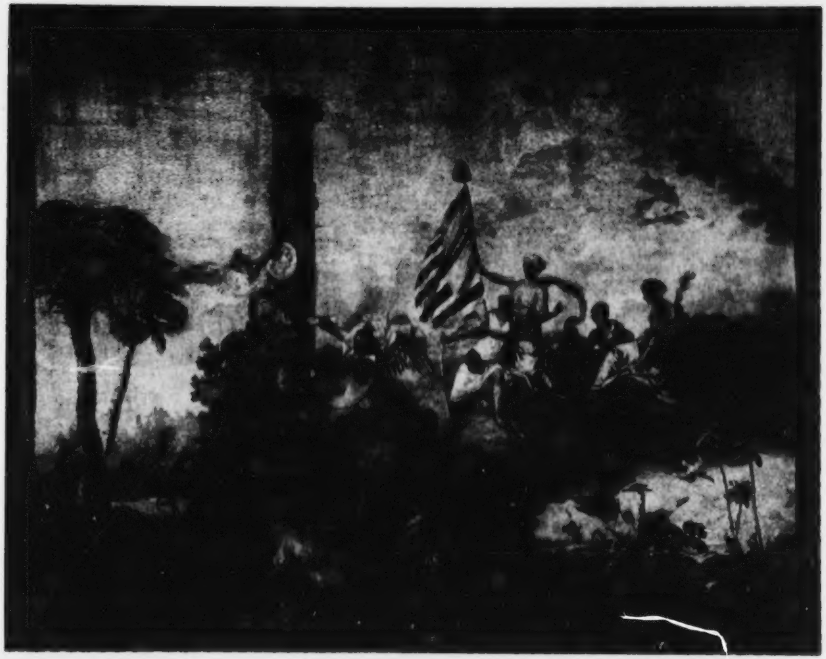
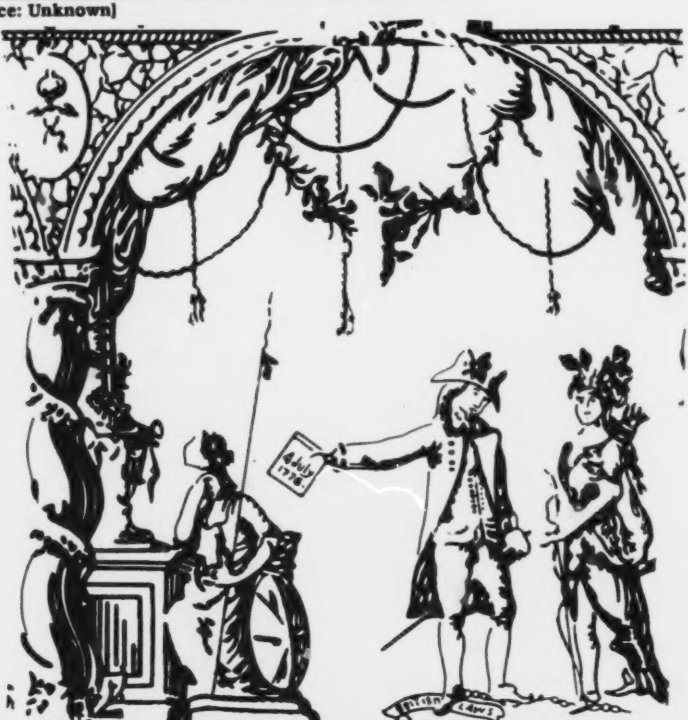


FIGURE 27. Tapestry entitled "America," from set of four—Europe, Asia, America, Africa—French, Beauvais, eighteenth century, after designs by Jean Jacques Francois Le Barbier, 1790–91. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Claus von Bulow gift, 1978 (1978.404.1).

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

America Proclaims Independence

[Source: Unknown]



Note: In 1984, after Lovell Thompson's Gambit Publishers brought out *Forgotten Founders*, I began work on a second volume on native contributions to democracy. My inquiry into artwork in the revolutionary period began in the foyer of Lovell's rambling house in Ipswich when, one day, he asked me to look at the wallpaper (above). This graphic, of unknown origin, portrays an American patriot facing an American Indian woman as he hands the Declaration of Independence ("4 July 1776") to a weeping Britannia. Note that the patriot is stepping on "British laws." Lovell's house was begun during the 1750s, and expanded several times in years following.

FIGURE 28. Note by Bruce Johansen.

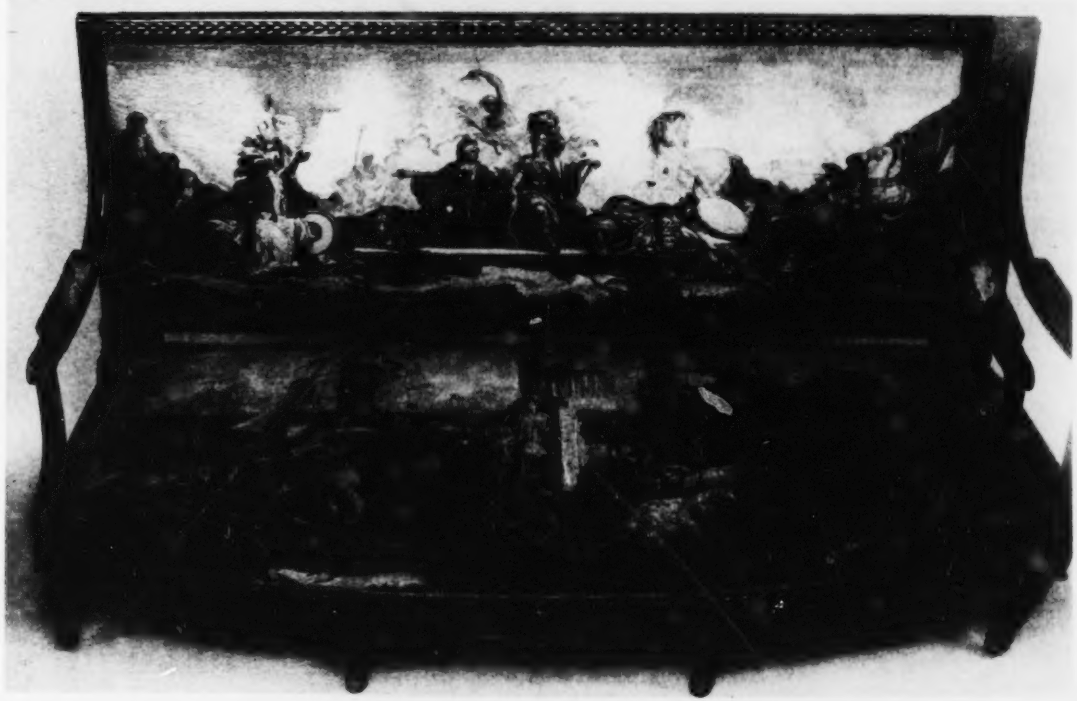


FIGURE 29. Sofa with tapestry covers: Europe and America, French, Beauvais, eighteenth century, after designs by Jean Jacques Francois Le Barbier, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Claus von Bulow gift, 1978 (1978.404.5a–c).

From the back woods half savages came down
And awkward troops paraded every town.
Committees and conventions met by scores
Justice was banished
Law turned out of doors.[42]

Commented another Tory wit:

Take Christians, Mohawks, Democrats and all
From the rude wigwam to the congress hall,
From man the savage, whether slaved or free,
To the man civilized, less tame than he—
'Tis one dull chaos, one infertile strife
Between the half-polished and half-barbarous life.

Where every ill the ancient world can brew
is mixed with every grossness
of the new
Where all corrupts, and little can entice
and nothing's known of politics but vice.[43]

Half savage—what better way of explaining America's national roots? Doubtless the patriots who used the Indian as a symbol of national independence knew this far better than we do today. In the eighteenth century, the word *savage* (except when the Tories used it) carried a much less vicious connotation than it does today. When the word was used by Roger Williams or Franklin, for example, it simply meant "from the forest," and in the opinion of Enlightenment thinkers, good things often happened in the forest. Natural law flourished there. Dreams of freedom from tyranny were nourished there. The forest sheltered societies that were, in some ways, more "civilized" than the haughtiest courts of Europe.

The cultural composite that became the new American ideology was represented not only by its symbols but by the rhetoric of the Revolution itself. The following chapter develops this theme through an examination of the writings of Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Paine. These three men represented a radical wing of the revolutionary movement, so their concepts of an "American" identity did not reflect the entire spectrum of opinion in the colonies. However, their arguments, above all others, propelled the Revolution forward. Without them, and particularly their use of American Indian imagery, United States history would have been profoundly different.

8

A NEW CHAPTER

Images of native America in the writings of Franklin, Jefferson, and Paine

[T]he Five Nations of Central New York . . . instituted a form of democratic representative government before the coming of the white man, that antedated the Confederation of the Thirteen Colonies. The League of the Iroquois was much in the minds of the colonial statesmen, Franklin in particular, and others who met the "Romans of the New World."

—William N. Fenton,
1939-41[1]

Happiness is more generally and equally diffus'd among Savages than in civilized societies. No European who has tasted savage life can afterwards bear to live in our societies.

—Benjamin Franklin, 1770[2]

As the American colonists moved toward independence, the use of American Indian imagery became prevalent among the revolutionaries. In December 1775, John Hancock welcomed a Delaware chief to the Continental Congress, "this council fire, kindled for all the United Colonies," and delegates heard the Delaware, Captain White Eyes, refer to this meeting as "the Grand Council Fire" in his reply. On New Year's Day, 1776, a Massachusetts delegate, Robert Treat Paine, wrote a letter to a constituent that again referred to "the Grand Council Fire at Philadelphia."[3]

By 1776, Iroquois imagery was not only a part of treatymaking but also a part of the American idiom. Although it can be argued that George Washington and the delegates to the Continental Congress used rhetoric and imagery to better explain the nature of the new American government to Native American people, such an argument cannot explain how such rhetoric began to appear in private correspondence to non-Indians. The ideas and symbols of native America were not incidental to but rather important influences on the formation of a new American identity, since they provided a link between the new Americans and the ancient wisdom of the Iroquois.[4]

The new "Two[-]Thirds of a Dollar" bill, designed by Benjamin Franklin in 1776, contained an emblem based on the Iroquois covenant chain imagery—the thirteen colonies were interlocked in a continuous chain of unity under the motto "American Congress, We are one." (See figure 30.) The same design reappeared in 1787 on American coinage as the founders wrestled with the idea of creating a new federal constitution, and the Grand Sachem of the Sons of Saint Tammany wore a silver chain with the same thirteen links long after the American Revolution ended.[5]

The product of an environment where the passion for liberty was soon to break out into revolution, Thomas Jefferson viewed the world through the eyes of a political seer:

> This whole chapter in the history of man is new. . . . Before the establishment of the American states, nothing was known to history but man of the old world, crowded within limits either small or overcharged and steeped in the vices which that situation generates.[6]

Franklin, who so much embodied the spirit of America that he was known throughout Europe as a "savage as philosopher," was outspoken in his belief in the singularity (and superiority) of his new nation.[7]

> Whoever has traveled through the various parts of Europe, and observed how small is the proportion of the people in affluence or easy circumstances there, compared with those in poverty and misery; the few rich and haughty landlords, the multitude of poor, abject, rack-rented [that is, paying rent that approximates the full value of the land], tythe-paying tenants, and half-paid and half-starved laborers; and view

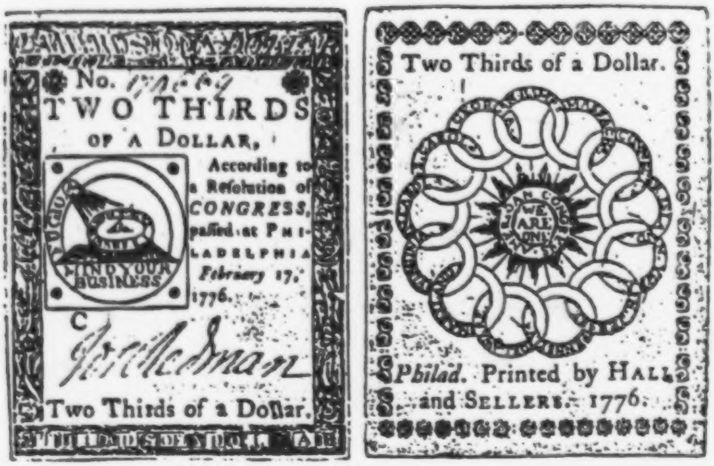

No.
TWO THIRDS
OF A DOLLAR,
According to a Reſolution of CONGRESS, paſſed at PHILADELPHIA February 17, 1776.
MIND YOUR BUSINESS
C
Two Thirds of a Dollar.
Two Thirds of a Dollar.
WE ARE ONE
Philad. Printed by HALL and SELLERS. 1776.

FIGURE 30. "Two Thirds of a Dollar." Continental currency of 17 February 1776. Designed by Benjamin Franklin, with chain imagery.

> here [in America] the happy mediocrity that so generally prevails throughout these States, where the cultivator works for himself, and supports his family in decent plenty, will, methinks, see the evident and great difference in our favor.[8]

The assertion of an independent identity for America and Americans sometimes verged on the messianic. Thomas Paine enthused, "We see with other eyes; we hear with other ears; we think with other thoughts, than those we formerly used."[9] As a student of government, Thomas Jefferson found little ground that was less fertile for study than the Europe of his day; the political landscape of England was full of ideas he wished to change, not emulate. Writing to John Adams, Jefferson said that force or corruption had been "the principle of every modern government, unless the Dutch perhaps be excepted."

> I am sure you join me in the detestation of the corruption of the English government that no man of earth is more incapable than yourself of seeing that copied among us, willingly. I have been among those who have feared the design to introduce it here, and that has been a strong reason with me for wishing there was an ocean of fire between that island and us.[10]

He repeated the same sentiment to the earl of Buchan. "Bless the almighty being," he wrote, "who, in gathering together the waters of the heavens, divided the dry land of your hemisphere from the dry land of ours."[11]

During this time, two schools of political thought were emerging in the Continental Congress as to the nature of the future American government. While both sides agreed that the British should be defeated and expelled, there was no agreement as to what governmental system should be devised to replace the old order. One group (led by Samuel Adams) focused on the immediate business of organizing the defeat of the English, without looking toward the future. Another group (led by Franklin and James Wilson) asserted that the creation of a new government must be simultaneous with the destruction of the old. Hence, a wide difference of opinion arose in the Continental Congress on how the business of the body should be conducted.

Some members maintained that the legislative and executive powers assumed by Congress from the colonial models should be preserved without change. Other members believed that the unwieldy standing committee system should be modified so that an executive department outside of Congress could more efficiently implement the resolutions of the legislative body. Any attempt to create an executive department smacked of monarchal tendencies, however, and was met with immediate opposition. Samuel Adams, leader of the antimonarchal group, brought his "town meeting" ideas with him to Philadelphia and insisted on their efficacy in national and local affairs. It would take time to iron out these differences, and the Iroquois Confederacy would provide a viable model for those who argued that a chief executive need not be invested with the powers of a king.[12]

In early 1776, Joseph Galloway, an ally of Franklin, suggested a plan for colonial union that would restore harmony with England. His proposal was very similar to the 1754 Albany Plan of Union, which was influenced by Franklin's contacts, both direct and indirect, with the Iroquois. Those who supported Galloway's "olive branch" approach effectively stalled the issue of independence in the Second Continental Congress. They feared a lapse in governmental authority and demanded the formation of a plan for American union before they were willing to forsake imperial authority. To salve such fears, Richard Henry Lee's independence resolution of 7 June 1776 included a proposal for a plan of confederation, which would be transmitted to the colonies for debate.[13]

In the midst of this debate on government and independence, Congress appointed a committee (headed by Roger Sherman) to "inquire into the cause that brings so many Indians . . . at present to Philadelphia.''[14] At a treaty conference in Albany in 1775, the Iroquois had expressed concern about the nature of the executive in the Continental Congress. Throughout the month of May 1776, twenty-one Iroquois observed the operations of the Continental Congress and its president, John Hancock; in fact, they lodged on the second floor of the Pennsylvania State House (later called Independence Hall), just above the chambers of the Continental Congress. On 27 May 1776, Richard Henry Lee reported that the Pennsylvania militia held a parade of two to three thousand men to impress the Iroquois with the strength of the United States. Four ''tribes of the Six Nations'' viewed the parade that Lee hoped would ''secure the friendship of these people.'' Newspaper accounts stated that Generals Washington, Gates, and Mifflin, ''the Members of Congress,'' and the Indians ''on business with the Congress'' reviewed the troops.[15]

On 11 June 1776, while the question of independence was being debated, the visiting Iroquois chiefs were formally invited into the meeting hall of the Continental Congress. There a speech was delivered, in which they were addressed as ''Brothers'' and told of the delegates' wish that the ''friendship'' between them would ''continue as long as the sun shall shine'' and the ''waters run.'' The speech also expressed the hope that the new Americans and the Iroquois would act ''as one people, and have but one heart.''[16] After this speech, an Onondaga chief requested permission to give Hancock an Indian name. The Congress graciously consented, and so the president was renamed ''Karanduawn, or the Great Tree.'' (See figure 31.) History is indebted to Charles Thomson, an adopted Delaware, whose knowledge of and respect for American Indians is reflected in the attention that he gave to this ceremony in the records of the Continental Congress.[17]

On the day of Hancock's renaming, plans for a confederation based on Franklin's Albany Plan of Union were being formulated in committee. Twenty-two years after the Albany Plan had been formulated with the help of Iroquois advice, the images and ideas of American Indians that were held by revolutionary leaders, such as Franklin, Jefferson, and Paine, were shaping the ideas that kindled the American Revolution. With the Iroquois chiefs inside the halls of Congress on the eve of the Declaration of Independence, the impact of Iroquois ideas on its makers was unmistakable. Immediately after the meeting with the Iroquois, the Congress proceeded to appoint a committee (composed of Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston) to draft a Declaration of Independence. After appointing this committee, Congress then moved to create another committee ''to prepare and

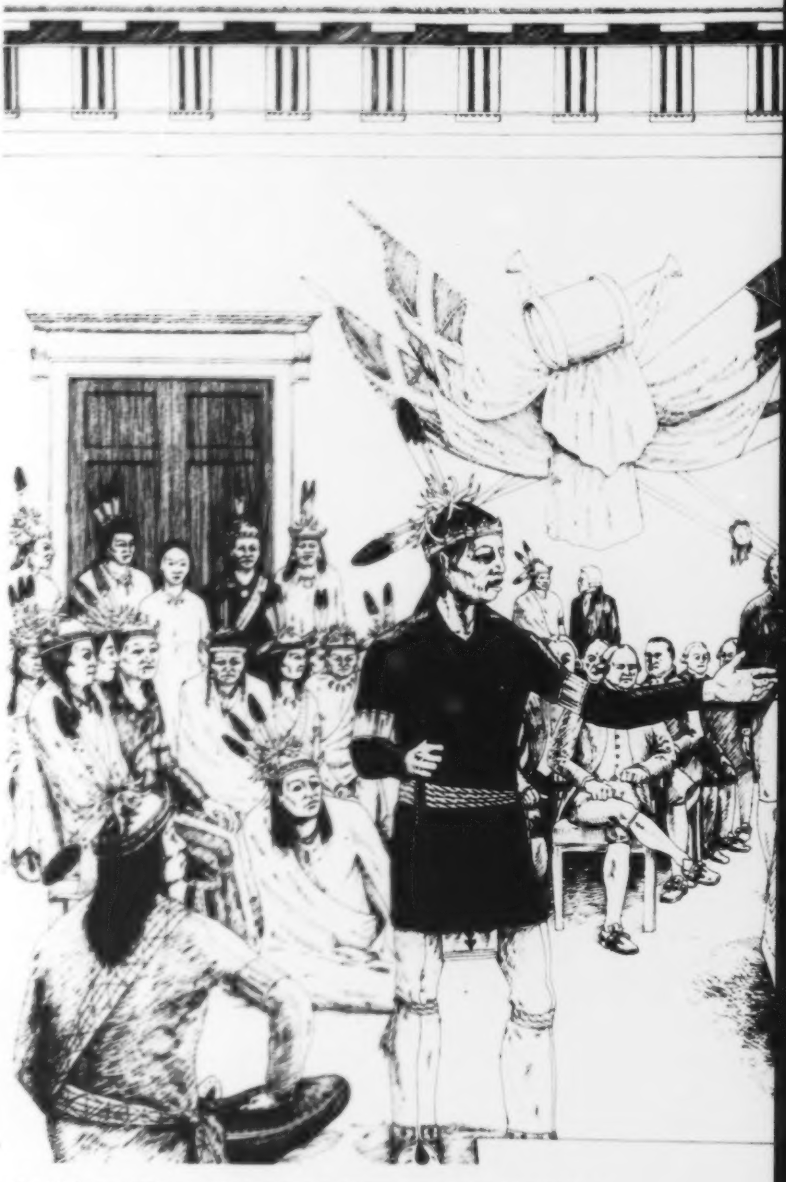
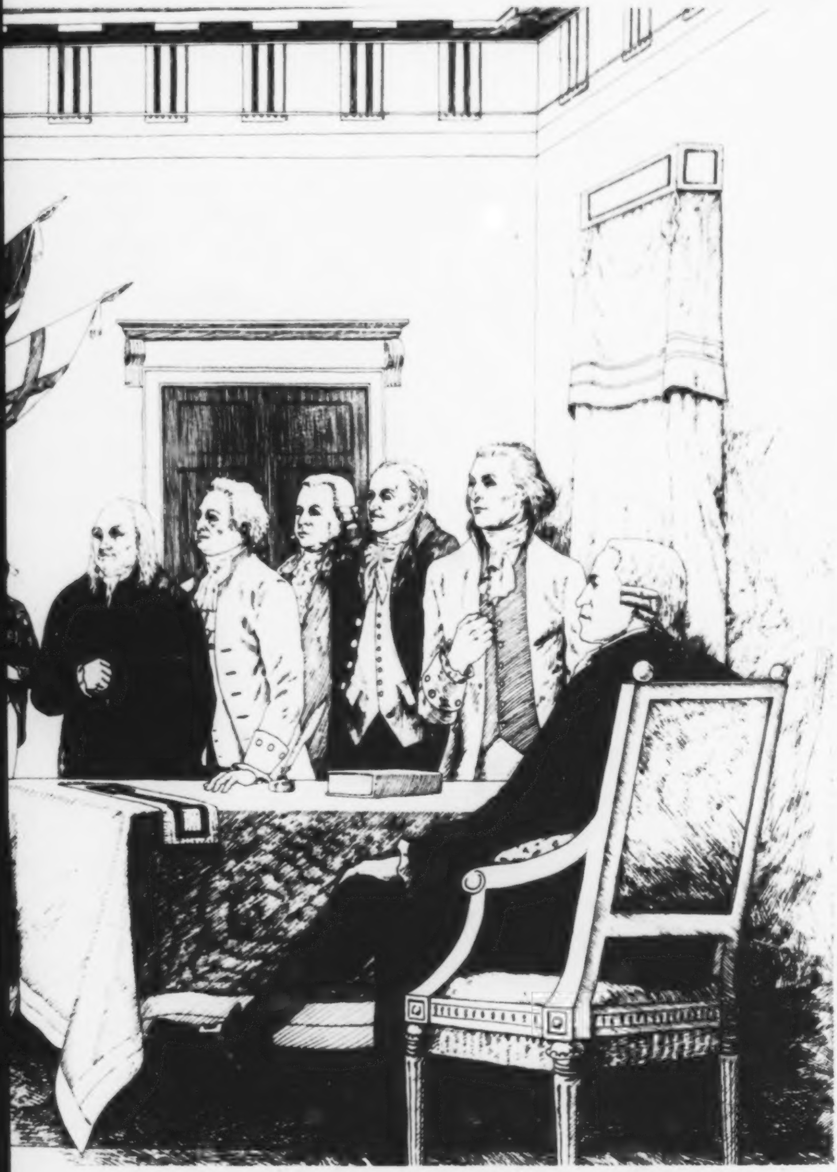


FIGURE 31. On 11 June 1776, an Onondaga sachem gave John Hancock an



Iroquois name at Independence Hall. By John Kahionhes Fadden.

digest the form of a confederation . . . between these colonies."[18] Within a month, Jefferson's Declaration of Independence would demand the same rights for the colonists that prominent Americans, as well as European savants, had seen illustrated in the "natural societies" of native peoples.

Amid the meetings with the Iroquois and discussions of confederation that included native concepts of democracy, Adams wrote to his wife on 10 July 1776 that he wished he were

> at perfect liberty to portray . . . the course of political changes in this province. It would give you a great idea of the spirit and resolution of the people, and shew you, in a striking point of view, the deep roots of American Independence in all the colonies. But it is not prudent, to commit to writing such free speculations, in the present state of things.
>
> Time . . . [will take] away the veil, and lay open the secret springs of this surprising revolution.[19]

Adams referred to American Indian ideas of government rather reluctantly in 1776; however, by 1787 (on the eve of the creation of the United States Constitution), he would advocate "a more accurate investigation of the form of governments" of the Indians "while creating a new constitution."[20]

The following rules of Congress were passed on 17 July 1776, after the Iroquois sachems' visit to Congress; they appear to reflect some Iroquois ideas about the conduct of government.

> Rule No. 3 No Member shall read any printed paper in the house during the sitting thereof, without the leave of Congress.
>
> Rule No. 4 When the house is sitting, no member shall speak to another, so as to interrupt any member who may be speaking in the debate.[21]

Certainly, no such decorum was evident in the British House of Commons or its colonial counterparts, where the shouts and hoots of the "back benchers" disrupted many sessions. American Indian observers had noted early on that these legislative bodies lacked respect for the speakers who had the floor.[22]

In November and December 1776, the Iroquois and Ohio Indian chiefs, who had met with James Wilson and others at Fort Pitt in the fall of the previous year, also visited Congress. Benjamin Rush (who seemed to have some previous experience with Iroquois imagery) related that

> [t]hey were all introduced to Congress. They took each member by the hand, and afterwards sat down. One of them (after a pause of 10 minutes) rose up and addressed the Congress in the following words.[23]

Rush then recorded the unmistakable rhetoric of the Iroquois Condolence Ceremony, which was now being used in the halls of Congress.

> Brothers[,] we received your commissioners at the little counsel fire at Fort Pitt. We wiped the sweat from [their] bodies. We cleansed the dirt from their ankles. We pulled the thorns from [their] feet. We took their staffs from their hands, and leaned them [against] the tree of peace, we took their belts from their waists, and conducted them to the seats of peace.[24]

This meeting held a special place in the memories of the members of Congress as did the earlier one with the Iroquois on the eve of the Declaration of Independence. After the American Revolution, Rush recalled another speech from that day that was also given by an Iroquois sachem:

> During my attendance in Congress in Philadelphia, I had the pleasure of being present at an *interview* between some chiefs of the Six Nations and Congress in the hall in the State House. After a pause of about ten minutes one of the chiefs rose from his seat, and pointing to the Sun said "the business of this day will end well. Yonder Sun rose clear this morning. The great spirit is propitious to us" [emphasis added].[25]

In his concluding remarks at the Constitutional Convention, Franklin invoked a similar image in order to impart his hopes for a propitious beginning for the United States Constitution.[26]

While ambassador to France during the American Revolution, Franklin often discussed "with great exactness" the ways of Indians and the "Politics of the Savages."[27] The French Enlightenment philosophers observed that Franklin believed American Indian ways more appropriate for the good life than were the manners of "civilized nations."[28] Pierre Jean George Cabanis noted that in Franklin's discussions among the *philosophes* (which included Cabanis, Turgot, Helvetius, La Rochefoucault, Condcorcet, and others), he often referred specifically to the Iroquois and made use of their rhetoric.

> [He] loved to cite and to practice faithfully the proverb of his friends the American Indians, "Keep the chain of friendship bright and shining."[29]

Jefferson, the next American ambassador to France, admired that nation's neat farming fields and the beauty of its music, but he reacted with a kind of smug horror when beggars gathered around his carriage nearly every time it stopped in a town or city. "Behold me at length on the vaunted scene of Europe," he wrote to Charles Bellini.

> You are perhaps curious to know how this new scene has struck a savage from the mountains of America. Not advantageously, I assure you. I find the general state of humanity here most deplorable. The truth of Voltaire's observation offers itself perpetually that every man here must be the hammer or the anvil.[30]

When Jefferson first arrived in Paris, the city was the largest in the Christian world, with a population of about six hundred thousand. A fifth of the city's adult population was unemployed, a number larger than the combined populations of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia; tens of thousands more were only marginally employed. "Of twenty millions of people supposed to be in France, I am of the opinion that there are nineteen millions more wretched, more accursed in every circumstance than the most conspicuously wretched individual of the whole United States," Jefferson wrote.[31]

Even after a revolution against the British, even after five to ten percent of the former colonies' populations—the heart of the Tory opposition—had fled to Canada and England, the new United States still had citizens who argued that the country's political system should be more explicitly modeled after Britain's, although they were in a minority. Moderate Tories often touted Britain's constitution of 1689 as an example to be emulated (some modern American scholars, in fact, trace the Constitution's ancestry straight back to it). While it was true that the Commons had been granted a small measure of participation in government, at the time of the American Revolution nearly a century later, barely five percent of the English population was allowed to vote.[32] The Crown still held an absolute veto over Parliament.

One opponent of the repressive British government, Thomas Paine, left England for America on the eve of its Revolution. He came to teach but was quickly swept up in the events of the Revolution. He expressed some of his opinions in *Common Sense,* where he called the English constitution "the base remains of two ancient tyrannies [the monarchy and the Peers], compounded with some new republican materials [the Commons].[33] No place, surely, for a new nation to look for definitions of "life," "liberty," and "happiness." To Paine, America was "the only real republic, in character and practice, that now exists."[34]

Too much government and law bred tyranny, Jefferson reasoned. When comparing the governments of France and Britain to those of the American Indians, Jefferson left no doubt which he favored.

> As for France, and England, with all their preeminence in science, the one is a den of robbers, and the other of pirates, as if science produces no better fruits than tyranny, murder, rapine and destitution of national morality. I would rather wish our country to be ignorant, honest and estimable as our neighboring savages.[35]

As they decried contemporary Europe, the architects of the new nation, such as Franklin, Jefferson, and Paine, described their visions of the new state they hoped to erect in ways strikingly similar to their conceptions of Native American societies, which had now been modified to suit a people of Old World ancestry. In many ways, these revolutionary Americans took up the argument for an "American" freedom where Roger Williams left off. All were pragmatic enough to understand that a utopian vision of a society based on natural rights could not be instantly grafted onto a government for thirteen recently British colonies. Jefferson addressed this question in a 30 January 1787 letter from Paris to Madison, where he examined three forms of societies:

> 1. Without government, as among our Indians.
> 2. Under governments wherein the will of every one has a just influence, as is the case in England in a slight degree, and in our states in a great one.
> 3. Under governments of force, as is the case in all other monarchies and in most of the other republics.
>
> ……………………………………………………………………………………
>
> It is a problem, not clear in my mind, that the [first] condition [the Indian way] is not the best. But I believe it to be inconsistent with any great degree of population.[36]

Most "Americans" (the word still sounded a little odd when applied to people with European ancestors, rather than Indians) avidly sought relief not only from a raft of British taxes but also from the entire European way of ordering society and government. This attitude sometimes reached extremes. Jefferson once warned against sending America's brightest students to European universities, despite the rudimentary nature of most American schools at the time. He so loathed European class distinctions that as president he rather enjoyed getting seating assignments mixed up at state dinners, so he could watch various self-conscious aristocrats stumble over each other as they sought to settle the correct hierarchy at table. George Washington refused to eat European wheat when American corn was available and, at least for a time, spurned European cloth in favor of homespun.

The United States was propelled into independence by the belief that a "new chapter" had opened in the affairs of humankind. The founders erected a national system with no singular precedent, just as the newly formed United States was (and remains even more so today) a mixture of peoples and cultures. While those who founded the United States carried plenty of European cultural baggage, their writings demonstrate that they sought out other examples, from European antiquity, especially, to societies native to America. Memories of one, according to common intellectual assumptions of the time, seemed to reinforce the reality of the other. American Indian societies were consistently cited as living examples of some distant European Golden Age—which could have been Greek, Roman, Celtic, or even Jewish.

Modern Europe *did* have dreams of a better order—it had copious books not only on the philosophy of natural rights but also on utopian schemes for societies without the kinds of hierarchies in which wealthy minorities starved the mass of citizens. In the late eighteenth century, the United States embodied humankind's best attempts at carrying natural-rights philosophy—much of which was based on observations of American native societies—into the realm of practice. For those interested more in making than dreaming, America was a laboratory where peoples of European extraction could observe the daily workings of the "natural societies" on which European savants based their speculations. As Paine had advised, "To understand what the state of society ought to be, it is necessary to have some idea of the natural state of man, such as it is at this day among the Indians of North America."[37]

Americans had not only encountered a new vision of society in their experience with American Indians, but they also developed unique concepts about land ownership. Britain, according to Franklin, had no right under natural law to claim land in the New World. Ironically, in order to support his position, he used an argument strikingly similar to those made by Native Americans at treaty councils, about which he had heard or read as he started his diplomatic career in the 1750s—that is, that the land belonged to its native inhabitants by natural right. The colonists, themselves, could only lay claim to portions of it by negotiating a transfer of ownership by treaty or by winning it in war. The mere claim by a European secular or religious sovereign was not enough. Franklin supported his reasoning by observing that the French astronomer Cassini had just discovered a previously unmapped region of the moon while peering through his telescope and had quickly named it Louisiana, after Louis XIV.

> By a successful War, perhaps, we might oblige Louis to give it up, and agree that, henceforth, in all maps of the Moon [it] be called Nova Britannia, and be held by King George as Trustee for the People of Great Britain. But if the Englishmen could *fly* as well as *sail,* and arriving there should claim the country upon that Right, the native inhabitants, to acknowledge and submit to it[,] must be *Lunatics* indeed.[38]

Franklin's arguments also recalled those of Roger Williams a century-and-a-half earlier, although Franklin's were based in politics and Williams's in religion. Both invoked the Indians' title to America by natural right and used this right as an example by which property rights should be governed.

The issue of property rights held an additional significance in this period. For instance, American revolutionaries such as Adams went to war to protect their sacred "property rights" as Englishmen—which they felt the British Crown was usurping through its taxation policies. Their rationale has often been characterized as part of a "conservative" effort to thwart some of the objectives of more radical colonial politicians. However, Adams was also a student of Native American societies, especially as he became interested in formulating "constitutions for single colonies" and a "great model for Union for the whole." In April 1776 Adams published his *Thoughts on Government,* which was intended as a handbook for the implementation of new American state and national constitutions as independence unfolded. A decade later, on the eve of the creation of the United States Constitution, he wrote about his observations of the "precise" separation of powers that were present in American Indian nations (in his *Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States*).[39]

As one who sought to mold the future in the image of the natural state, Paine admired the Indians' relatively equal distribution of property, but he realized it would be impossible "to go from the civilized to the natural state."[40] Visiting America in 1774 (under the auspices of Franklin), he found much to admire in the New World. "Among the Indians," he wrote, "there are not any of those spectacles of misery that poverty and want present to our eyes in the towns and streets of Europe."[41] Poverty was a creation "of what is called civilized life. It exists not in the natural state. . . . The life of an Indian is a continual holiday compared to the poor of Europe."[42]

Paine's *Common Sense* illustrated how imbued Americans were with the "self-evident" truths of natural rights. It captured the essence of the American spirit by saying that civil and religious liberties stemmed from free governments in a natural state. In discussing the origins of American government, Paine felt that a "convenient tree will afford . . . a State House, under which" the colonists "may assemble to deliberate on public matters." He believed that in the "first parliament every man by natural right will have a seat."[43]

With knowledge of the natural state, however, the new Americans could attain what Franklin called "happy mediocrity," a compromise between the nearly pure democracy of the Indian nations (with their egalitarian distribution of property) and the governments of the landed nobility of Europe. The "natural state" of the Indian could be used as a cultural influence to lighten European cultural baggage in America. What emerged was a republican form of government (a representative rather than direct democracy) with a relatively flat (but hardly absent) class structure, which allowed people to rise or fall by their own efforts in (as Jefferson sometimes called it) an "aristocracy of merit."

While Jefferson, Franklin, and Paine were too pragmatic to believe they could copy the "natural state," aspects of it were woven into the ideological fabric of the United States in its earliest stages. "The only condition on earth to be compared with ours," wrote Jefferson, "is that of the Indian, where they have still less law than we."[44] When Paine wrote that "government, like dress is the badge of lost innocence,"[45] and Jefferson declared that the best government governs least, they were recapitulating their observations of Native American societies, either directly or through the eyes of European philosophers such as Locke and Rousseau.

During the few years that Paine lived in America, he spent considerable time with American Indians, especially the Iroquois. On 21 January 1777, Paine was appointed by Pennsylvania's Council of Safety as a commissioner to negotiate a treaty with the Iroquois and allied Indian nations at Easton, Pennsylvania. The commissioners toted a thousand dollars worth of presents with them to the Dutch Reformed Church in Easton where, by Paine's account, "after shaking hands, drinking rum, while the organ played, we proceeded to business."[46] Paine—his prominent nose, lofty forehead, ruddy complexion, and eyes through which (according to Charles Lee) shone genius—was particularly well known among the Senecas. John Hall, who had emigrated from Leicester, England to Philadelphia in 1785, recorded the following passage in his journal of 15 April 1786:

> Mr. Paine asked me to go and see the Indian chiefs of the Sennaka Nation. I gladly assented. . . . Mr. Paine . . . made himself known . . . as Common Sense and was introduced into the room, addressed them as "brothers," and shook hands cordially[.] Mr. Paine treated them with 2s. bowl of punch.[47]

Jefferson's life was rich in association with native peoples from childhood on. His father, Peter Jefferson, was an avid naturalist who introduced young Thomas to the Indian sachems who lodged at the family home on their way to or from official business in Williamsburg. Late in his life, in a series of published letters that reconciled the political differences of the two retired presidents, Jefferson wrote to John Adams that he believed his early contacts with Native Americans were an important influence on his development.

> Concerning Indians, in the early part of my life, I was very familiar, and acquired impressions of attachment and commiseration for them which have never been obliterated. Before the Revolution, they were in the habit of coming often and in great numbers to the seat of government *where I was very much with them.* I knew much the great Ontassete, the warrior and orator of the Cherokees; he was always the guest of my father, on his journeys to and from Williamsburg [emphasis added].[48]

Adams replied:

> I also have felt an interest in the Indians, and a commiseration for them with my childhood. Aaron Pomham and Moses Pomham . . . of the Punkapang and Neponset tribes were frequent visitors at my father's house . . . and I, in my boyish rambles, used to call at their wigwam.[49]

Commenting on this process of reconciliation, Benjamin Rush wrote to Adams on 12 February 1812 that he hoped "the chain which now connects Quincy with Monticello continues to brighten by every post."[50]

Throughout his life, Jefferson frequently voiced his respect for Native Americans. For example, in 1785 he wrote,

> I am safe in affirming that the proofs of genius given by the Indians place them on a level with the whites. . . . I have seen some thousands myself, and conversed much with them. . . . I believe the Indian to be in body and mind equal to the white man.[51]

His political activities often delayed but never diffused his interest in native societies. Visitors to Monticello were greeted in the Great Hall (or entryway), where Native American artifacts covered the walls. Jefferson was especially interested in native languages. For more than twenty years after he first discussed Indian languages in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (written in 1782), he collected Indian vocabularies much as Roger Williams had done. In 1800, Jefferson was prepared to publish what would have been the most extensive vocabulary of Indian languages up to that time. Since this also was the year he became president, this work was delayed until he left office in 1808, when he packed up his research papers—which included fifty of his own vocabularies, as well as several compiled by Lewis and Clark—and ordered that they be returned to Monticello. Boatmen piloting Jefferson's belongings across the Potomac River ripped these crates open and, disappointed that they could find nothing "valuable," dumped the priceless papers into the river.[52]

The Declaration of Independence placed its case not before the Christian God but before "Nature's God, the Supreme Judge of the World." Most of the revolutionary generation called the deity just about anything except "God," including "the Great Spirit" and even "the Great Legislator." Jefferson's naturalistic conception of the deity provided him with a sense of universal morality similar to that of the deeply religious Roger Williams. Indeed, it took a sense of universal morality to believe that "all men are created equal." In theory, at least, this belief cut across racial and sexual lines; however, only the most radical of visionaries (Paine among them) advocated the emancipation of women. Although Jefferson himself owned slaves, he no doubt would have approved of efforts in later centuries to address the practical contradictions of this theory.

Believing as he did in the universal morality of humankind, Jefferson had no objection to intermarriage. He, like Patrick Henry, occasionally promoted intermarriage with native peoples in order to create a "continental family." In January 1802, Jefferson told an Indian delegation that "[y]our blood will mix with ours, and will spread, with ours, over this great island."[53] The reference to "this great island" could have been an Iroquois term—the Haudenosaunee origin story calls America "Turtle Island."

Patrick Henry even advocated state subsidies for marriages between natives and Euro-Americans. In the fall of 1784, he introduced such a measure into the Virginia House of Delegates. The bill directed the state to pay an unspecified sum on the marriage day and an additional sum upon the birth of each child. It also proposed that these couples live tax-free. He pushed the bill with his usual enthusiasm and oratorical flourish through two readings; however, by the time it reached the third reading, Henry had been elected governor of Virginia. Without his presence in the House of Delegates, the intermarriage bill died.[54]

As Americans and as revolutionaries, Franklin, Jefferson, and Paine bristled at any suggestion that nature had dealt the New World an inferior hand. Under the guise of science, so-called "degeneracy theories" had gained some currency in Europe during the late eighteenth century. This particular school of pseudoscience was pressed into service as a justification for colonialism in much the same way that craniology (which linked intelligence to the relative size and volume of skulls among the races) would be a century later.

Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* was, in part, a refutation of the assertions of France's Comte de Buffon (and others) that the very soil, water, and air of the New World caused plants and animals (including human beings) to grow less rapidly and enjoy less sexual ardor than their Old World counterparts. The ongoing controversy over the innate intelligence of American Indians was also factored into this debate, with de Buffon and company championing the position of native inferiority. Jefferson took the lead in countering the degeneracy theorists and maintained that native peoples of America enjoyed mental abilities equal to Europeans. In his *Notes*, he quoted the eloquent speech of Logan (delivered after Euro-Americans had massacred his family) as evidence that American Indians had a full measure of intelligence and compassion.[55] Portions of this speech were introduced to millions of elementary school pupils during the nineteenth century in *McGuffy's Readers*.

America's revolutionaries never missed an opportunity to turn such theories on their heads. Jefferson was fond of relating a conversation that took place at a dinner, which was attended by Franklin, a few other Americans, and several French degeneracy-theory advocates while Franklin was representing the new nation in France. Franklin listened politely as Abbe Raynal, a well-known proponent of American degeneracy, described how even Europeans would be stunted by exposure to the New World, then simply asked the French to test their theory "by the fact before us." "Let both parties rise," Franklin challenged, "and we shall see on which side nature has degenerated." The table became a metaphorical Atlantic Ocean as the Americans, on one side, rose to their feet and towered over the French on the other. The Abbe, "himself particularly, was a mere shrimp," Jefferson smirked.[56]

Jefferson complained that traditional university curricula, which were based on European precedents, did not pay enough attention to the natural history and cultures of the Americas and Africa. So, when he designed a curriculum for the University of Virginia, he included traditional European subjects as well as courses in American Indian cultures and languages.[57] In his opinion, the control of educational content was just one more way in which British imperialism sought to dominate (and often exterminate) native peoples—from Ireland to Africa to America to "wherever Anglo-mercantile cupidity can find a two-penny interest in deluging the world with human blood."[58]

Franklin often used the perceptions of European societies held by Indians as a means to criticize "civilization."

> The Care and Labour of providing for Artificial and fashionable Wants, the sight of so many Rich wallowing in superfluous plenty, while so many are kept poor and distress'd for want; the Insolence of Office . . . [and] restraints of Custom, all contrive to disgust them [the Indians] with what we call civil Society.[59]

Men who held such ideas would not seek to transplant England's political system to America intact. Jefferson himself argued that the United States was a combination of Old and New World ideological materials.

> Every species of government has its own specific principles. . . . Ours perhaps is more peculiar than any other in the universe. It is a composition of the freest principle[s] of the English constitution, and others derived from natural right and natural reason.[60]

American Indians and their societies figured into the conception of "life, liberty, and happiness" as understood by Jefferson, who authored the phrase in the Declaration of Independence, and Franklin, who operated in many ways as Jefferson's revolutionary mentor. These two founders' descriptions of American Indian societies played a provocative role in a major debate of the time, which erupted when the phrase "happiness" was substituted for "property."[61] Both sought to create a society that operated as much as possible on consensus and public opinion, much as native societies did. Both described the Indians' passion for liberty while making it a patriotic rallying cry; they admired Indians' notions of happiness while seeking a definition that would suit their new nation. Franklin turned for help to all "the Indians of North America not under the dominion of the Spaniards," who

> are in that natural state, being restrained by no Laws, having no Courts, or Ministers of Justice, no Suits, no prisons, no governors vested with

> any Legal Authority. The persuasion of Men distinguished by Reputation of Wisdom is the only Means by which others are govern'd, or rather led—and the State of the Indians was probably the first State of all Nations.[62]

Jefferson called up the same images in his *Notes on Virginia* in a section that was inserted into the 1787 edition while the Constitutional Convention met. The Native Americans, wrote Jefferson, had never

> [s]ubmitted themselves to any laws, any coercive power and shadow of government. Their only controls are their manners, and the moral sense of right and wrong. . . . An offence against these is punished by contempt, by exclusion from society, or, where the cause is serious, as that of murder, by the individuals whom it concerns. Imperfect as this species of control may seem, crimes are very rare among them.[63]

The lesson here seemed clear to Jefferson.

> Insomuch that it were made a question, whether no law, as among the savage Americans, or too much law, as among the civilized Europeans, submits man to the greater evil, one who has seen both conditions of existence would pronounce it to be the last.[64]

Jefferson's observations and ideas on the political system of the Iroquois Confederacy were accessible to many influential people, including the Marquis de Lafayette, James Madison, and Franklin, through his *Notes on Virginia*, which ran through several editions, was quickly translated into French, and proved popular enough to be pirated.[65] The book was current reading in the United States at the time of the Constitutional Convention, a period that Jefferson himself spent in France.[66]

His discussion of native political systems was elaborated in some editions by the notes of Charles Thomson, who also served as secretary to the Continental Congress beginning in 1774. As a young man, Thomson was adopted into the Delaware Nation and received the name Wegh-wu-law-mo-end or "the man who tells the truth." He also witnessed a Delaware and Mohawk Condolence Ceremony two decades before the American Revolution.[67] It was Thomson who faithfully recorded the ceremony bestowing an Iroquois name on John Hancock in 1776—just one example of his legacy that has survived in archival documents. Many years later, Benjamin Rush asked Thomson to write a history of the American Revolution, but he declined by saying,

> I ought not, for I shall contradict all histories of the great events of the Revolution, and shew by my account of men, motives and measures,

> that we are wholly indebted to providence for its successful issue. Let the world admire the supposed wisdom and valor of our great men. Perhaps they may adopt the qualities that have been ascribed to them, and thus good be done. I shall not undeceive future generations.[68]

According to his biographer, Thomson is also believed to have been an author of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which defined the procedures by which new states could join the union. This law was without recent European precedent; it was, however, similar in many ways to the Great Law of the Iroquois League, whose great white pine spread out white roots to gather in new peoples who were willing to forsake war and unify under the shade of the symbolic national tree. His annotations to Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* include his own critique of European degeneracy theories: He cited Monsieur Buffon by name and observed that nearly all Iroquois and most Delaware (Lenapi) were taller than Europeans. This particular footnote took up four pages of dense, eight- or nine-point type.[69] *Notes on Virginia* listed all the native tribes and nations known to Jefferson "according to their confederacies."[70] Thomson's footnotes also contained detailed descriptions of the native confederacies in what is now Maryland and Virginia. This particular footnote, which ran across the bottom two-thirds of six pages, again in dense type, provided additional details of the "Mingo" (Iroquois) Confederacy, including a description of the system of "elder" and "younger" brothers.[71]

Writing to Edward Carrington in 1787, Jefferson, in explaining the role of public opinion in government, also linked freedom of expression to the right to happiness and cited American Indian societies as an example.

> The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, our very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate for a moment to prefer the latter. . . . I am convinced that those societies [as the Indians] which live without government enjoy in their general mass an infinitely greater degree of happiness than those who live under European governments.[72]

"Without government" could not have meant without social order. Not only Jefferson, but Franklin and Paine as well, knew native societies too well to argue that Native Americans functioned without social cohesion. All three had experience with native leaders as treaty negotiators, which was a peer relationship. Throughout the revolutionary war and into the early years of the United States, relations with the major native nations that bordered the colonies (later the United States) were a primary focus of the nation's statecraft. It was clear that the Iroquois, for example, could not have organized a confederacy with alliances spreading over much of eastern North America "without government." However, their conception of government differed greatly from the European standard, but was one which Jefferson, Paine, and Franklin appreciated and studied in order to factor "natural law" and "natural rights" into their designs for the United States.

Jefferson provided this description of Indian governance, which in some respects resembled the government that the United States was then constructing—the pattern of states within a nation, which the founders called federalism.

> The matters which merely regard a town or family are settled by the chief and principal men of the town; those which regard a tribe . . . are regulated at a meeting or a council of the chiefs from several towns; and those which regard the whole nation . . . are deliberated on and determined at a national council.[73]

Jefferson's use of the word *men* glossed over the fact that women also played an important role in many Indian nations. In analyzing the nature of Native American polities, however, Jefferson rather accurately described the deliberations of native national councils; his observations could have been drawn from many of the New England tribes—the Iroquois, Hurons, Cherokees, or Choctaws—but were probably generalizations drawn from the Indian nations he knew. Each Indian nation had its meetinghouse for government business, where

> [in] council, it is common for the chiefs of the several tribes to consult thereupon with their counsellors, and when they have agreed, to deliver the opinion of the tribe at the national council; and, as their government seems to rest wholly on persuasion, they endeavor, by mutual concessions, to obtain unanimity.[74]

Jefferson denied reports that Indian sachemships were inherited. "The sachem or chief of the tribe seems to be by election" rather than passed down in the tradition of European royal titles.[75] He tended to ignore the subtleties that distinguished the passage of power in native societies from both pure election *and* inheritance. The Iroquois, for example, elected sachems from within the bounds of the clan or extended family, who held in common the traditional inherited titles. Sachems also were "raised" to the Iroquois Grand Council solely on the basis of merit—

as defined by the clan mothers and sitting sachems, not the general population. The native leaders whom Roger Williams knew best seem to have achieved their positions from within a family line; however, Jefferson's point that public opinion played more of a role in the selection of native leaders than European monarchs was accurate.

Franklin's Articles of Confederation of 1775 laid out a plan for government that resembled the political structure of the Iroquois and other nearby native nations—even to the point of a common terminology; Franklin called his confederacy "a firm league of friendship." The new states (still referred to as "colonies") would retain powers similar to those of the individual tribes and nations within many native confederacies. Local problems were to be solved by the local unit of government best suited to their nature, size, and scope, while national problems, such as diplomacy and defense, were to be handled by the national government.[76] This notion of "federalism" was a novel concept to Europeans; among native peoples in America, the idea was so old that no European record exits of its origin.

The Articles of Confederation also provided for an executive with powers similar to the Iroquois and other confederations—that is, one that had difficulties in levying taxes with any degree of authority. With the aid of historical hindsight, it may be argued that, in establishing the first confederation of states, the founders erred in their judgment of just how much "natural law" thirteen former English colonies could absorb. Their first attempt at government provided for a very weak executive—which would not pose much of a problem if the legislative body strove for genuine consensus, but could be paralyzing in a system more attuned to reconciling competing special interests. The Articles contained other native mechanisms: provisions for amendment, much as the Iroquois Great Law of Peace provided for new measures to be "added to the rafters" of the symbolic national longhouse; and a means by which new people and territory could be brought into the confederacy (even mentioning Ireland as a possibility in that regard).

Alliance with the Iroquois was deemed so important by Franklin that the Articles mandated it: "Their Limits to be secured to them; their land not to be encroached on." These provisions were analogous to those in Franklin's Albany Plan of 1754.[77] The Articles also outlawed private land purchases along the frontier, which had been a source of much friction between the colonies and Indian nations. It also ordered that future land transactions must be negotiated directly between the national government and the Iroquois Grand Council in Onondaga.

Franklin's draft of the Articles also contained some novelties that were his alone. One proposed that the national council meet in a different colony (later state) each year, until each had been represented.

During the spring of 1775, as Franklin and others pondered the governing document for the unifying colonies, serious skirmishes with the British took place at Lexington and Concord. At Albany, Pittsburgh, and several other points along the frontier, colonial representatives met secretly with native leaders, hoping to procure their alliance, or at least neutrality, in the coming war with Great Britain. All the colonial commissioners delivered remarks that were variations on a speech written by Franklin.[78]

The most dramatic example of the influence of Iroquois political theories on Americans occurred at German Flats, New York, beginning 15 August 1775, when treaty commissioners from the Continental Congress met with the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations to acquaint the Iroquois with the "United Colonies dwelling upon this Island."[79] This conference was considered to be so important that a delegate from the Continental Congress, Philip Schuyler, also attended.

After some preliminaries, the sachems and treaty commissioners began their deliberations in earnest on 24 August at Cartwright's Tavern in Albany, New York (see figure 32). According to protocol, the commissioners asked the sachems to appoint a representative speaker, but they deferred this decision to the commissioners, who then selected the Mohawk, Abraham, the adopted brother of and successor to Hendrick.[80] The following day, the treaty commissioners (acting on specific instructions from John Hancock and the Second Continental Congress) told the Iroquois that the colonists were finally heeding the advice given to them at Lancaster, Pennsylvania in 1744 by the Indians' forefathers. The commissioners quoted the following words of Canassatego's to illustrate this point:

> Brethren, We the Six Nations heartily recommend Union and a good agreement between you our Brethren, never disagree but preserve a strict Friendship for one another and thereby you as well as we will become stronger. Our Wise Forefathers established Union and Amity between the Five Nations . . . we are a powerful Confederacy, and if you observe the same methods . . . you will acquire fresh strength and power.[81]

The Americans then said that their forefathers had rejoiced to hear Canassatego's words, which sank

> deep into their Hearts, the Advice was good, it was Kind. They said to one another, the Six Nations are a wise people, let us hearken to their Council and teach our children to follow it. Our old Men have done so. They have frequently taken a single Arrow and said, Children, see how easy it is broken, then they have tied twelve together with strong Cord

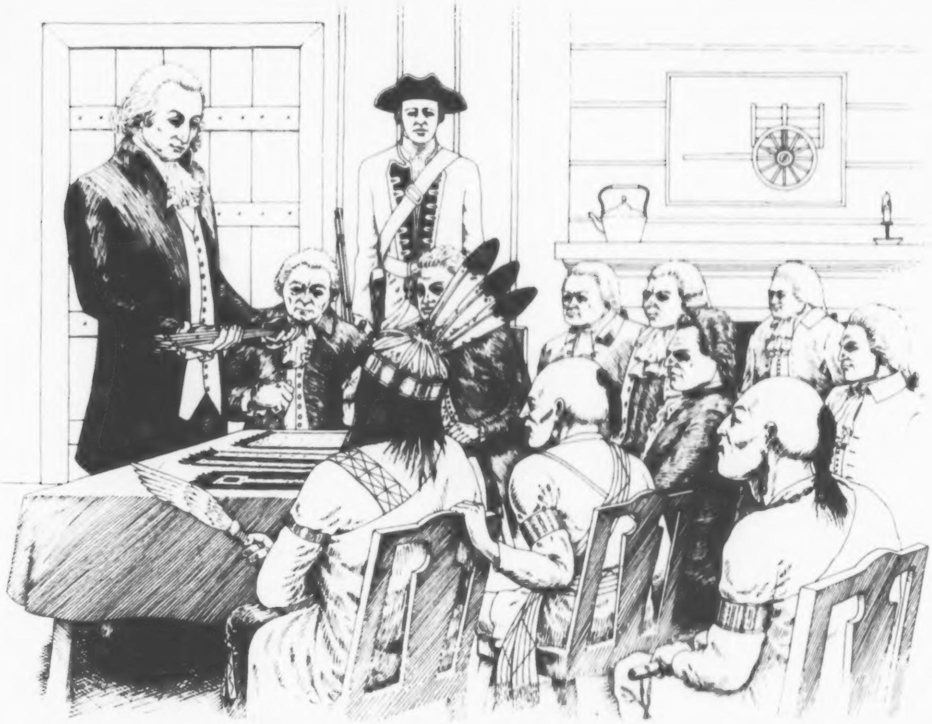


FIGURE 32. In 1775, treaty commissioners at Albany recall the words of Canassatego. By John Kahionhes Fadden.

> —And our strongest Men could not break them—See said they—this is what the Six Nations mean. Divided a single Man may destroy you—United, you are a match for the whole World.[82]

This statement was not just diplomatic protocol designed to flatter the Iroquois, but rather an actual summary of the historical process of assimilating Iroquois ideas of unity—ideas that were expressed in subsequent meetings and in the writings of some of the founders (Franklin, Wilson, and Jefferson, for example). Indeed, the Americans presented the creation of a government based on federated unity as an alternative to colonial conquest. As they continue their remarks, they thanked the "great God that we are all united, that we have a strong Confederacy composed of twelve Provinces"; the American delegates also pointed out that they had "lighted a Great Council Fire at Philadelphia" and had "sent Sixty five Counsellors to speak and act in the name of the whole."[83]

On 26 August 1775, the commissioners presented their case for an alliance. "We the Delegates from the twelve United provinces [Georgia had not yet joined the Continental Congress] now sitting in Congress at Philadelphia send this talk to you." They explained the source of their grievances against the British, which were so severe that the colonies were "forced to fight or give up our Civil Constitution." They went on to say that they did "not take up the Hatchet . . . for Honor and Conquest, but to maintain our Civil Constitution and religious privileges."[84] After arguing for Iroquois neutrality for several days, the commissioners asserted,

> We live upon the same Ground with you—the same Island is our common Birthplace. We desire to sit down under the same Tree of Peace with you; let us water its roots, Cherish its growth, till the large leaves and flourishing Branches shall extend to the setting Sun and reach the Skies.[85]

During the deliberations on 28 August, the Americans asked the Iroquois to maintain their neutrality and presented them with a white wampum belt. Next, they summarized their position by noting that when this

> Island began to shake and tremble along the Eastern Shore, and the Sun darkened by a Black Cloud which arose from beyond the great water, we Kindled up a Great Council Fire at Philadelphia . . . so . . . that . . . we are now twelve Colonies united as one Man. . . . And . . . As God has put it into our hearts to love the Six Nations and their allies we now

> make the chain of friendship so that nothing but an evil spirit can or will attempt to break it. But we hope thro' the Favor and Mercy of the good Spirit that it will remain strong and bright while the Sun shines and the Water runs.[86]

After this statement, the Americans delivered a "Union" wampum belt to the Iroquois sachems. The commissioners then gave the chiefs a "Path" wampum belt, the pipe of peace, and six small strings. The treaty commissioners from the Second Continental Congress asked that "this our good talk remain" at Onondaga, "your Central Council House," so that "you may hand down to the latest posterity these Testimonials of the brotherly Sentiments of the twelve United Colonies towards their Brethren of the Six Nations and their Allies."[87] The use of Iroquois imagery certainly had its diplomatic purpose, but it also demonstrated that the delegates had absorbed Iroquois governmental ideas.

On 31 August, after several days of deliberations, the Iroquois sachems made their reply to the commissioners. Abraham spoke for them and reviewed the statements and proposals of the Americans. He assured the colonists that the various belts would be placed at Onondaga "to refresh our Memories" so that "future generations may call to mind the covenant now made between us." In discussing Canassatego's speech, Abraham stated that a brother of Canassatego was "here present" who also remembered "the Words of his Brother"; he remarked with pleasure that "your Grandfathers had inculcated the [Iroquois] Doctrine into their Children." He then accepted the invitation to come down to the place where the Tree of Peace was planted and "sit under it and water its roots, till the Branches should flourish and reach to Heaven." He confirmed, "This the Six Nations say shall be done."[88] The Mohawk sachem conveyed the Iroquois' acceptance of neutrality in the "family quarrel" between the colonies and England, and he assured the Americans that he would "send and inform all our neighbouring Council fires of the Matters now transacted."[89]

The Iroquois were also concerned that the colonial Americans would maintain the Council Fire and the Great Tree of Peace properly. Abraham stated that there must be "some person appointed to watch" this "Council Fire," and that he "be provided with a Wing, that he may brush off all Insects that come near it and keep it clean." Abraham instructed the commissioners that this was "the Custom at our Central Council House," and they had such a guardian "appointed for that purpose."[90] This allusion to Tadodaho, the presiding officer of the Confederacy, was an indication of the continuing concern of the Iroquois over the nature of the American presidency. It should be obvious that, by this time, the Iroquois and the Americans were conscious of the similarities between the Iroquois Confederacy and the Continental Congress.

On 1 September, the treaty commissioners answered Abraham's speech by stating that they gave "Thanks to the great Governor of the Universe that he" had inclined their "hearts to approve and accept of the brotherly Love." Furthermore, they noted that it made them "happy to hear so wise and brave a people, as our Brothers of the Six Nations, publickly declare their" desire to "maintain and support peace and Friendship with the twelve united Colonies." The conference was subsequently concluded after an extended discussion of neutrality and land disputes, after which the commissioners promised to refer the land dispute matters to "the Grand Congress at Philadelphia." Gifts were then distributed as the Iroquois prepared for their return to Onondaga.[91]

In the fall of 1775, the Continental Congress sent a delegation to Fort Pitt in western Pennsylvania to meet with representatives of the Six Nations as well as the western nations (Shawnees, Wyandots, and others). The Continental Congress again insisted on sending a delegate, as they had in Albany several months earlier—James Wilson was the delegate who took on this responsibility. The treaty council at Fort Pitt mirrored the earlier conference at Albany in many ways. The Continental Congress was again referred to as "our Great United Council of Wise Men . . . at Philadelphia." The Americans spoke of transplanting the "Tree of Peace." Iroquois imagery was also quoted by the American delegates to explain the unity of the colonies. The "thirteen great colonies," they said, were united "by one lasting Chain of Friendship," and they were not to be considered as "Distinct Nations, but as one great and strong man."[92] Offering peace and friendship to the assembled chiefs, the colonists communicated their desire to "bury in oblivion all that has past; and brighten the Chain of friendship."[93] Years later, Wilson would recall these concepts in detail during the debates at the Constitutional Convention.[94]

The cultural transference of Iroquois political theory had now come full circle. Colonists not only read Locke and Rousseau but also made use of the practical counsel of Iroquois sachems over several generations. The Albany and Fort Pitt treaty conferences are noteworthy, because Iroquois imagery was used not only for the sake of diplomatic protocol but also in the comparisons to the new "Grand Council" at Philadelphia. They demonstrate that Iroquois instructions regarding matters of unity from as early as 1744 were remembered and heeded by new and Native Americans alike. Democracy and unity were not just the intellectual abstractions of the American patriots but were also functioning concepts among the Iroquois. In the summer of 1776, it took King George III six weeks—the speed of sail across the Atlantic—to find out just how seriously his former subjects were taking native America's example of life, liberty, and happiness.

Indeed, David Ramsay—physician, politician, and one of the first chroniclers of the American Revolution—believed that geography and the American environment were very important elements in shaping the American character. His opinion was that "the natural seat of freedom" was "among the high mountains and pathless deserts . . . of America."

> The distance of America from Great Britain generated ideas in the minds of the colonists favorable to liberty. . . . Colonists growing up to maturity, at such an immense distance from the seat of government, perceived the obligation of dependence much more feebly, than the inhabitants of the parent isle, who not only saw but daily felt, the fangs of power.[95]

Ramsay also believed that principles of government were radically altered during the Revolution. In 1802, he stated that the

> political character of the people was also changed from subjects to citizens. . . . [A] citizen is [by definition] a unit of a mass of free people which collectively possess sovereignty . . . [and each] . . . contains within himself by nature and the constitution as much of the common sovereignty as another.[96]

One of the symbols for equality and liberty used by the new American citizens—the new free people—was the American Indian. Franklin, Jefferson, and Paine were all acquainted with some of the fundamental concepts of the Iroquois and other American Indian societies and included them in their discourse to stress that the American experience was different from many of the European values that they had found lacking. Their critique found a ready audience in the American people during the Revolution. Native American images and the ideas associated with them became so embedded in the American experience that societies of Euro-Americans who dressed, spoke, and danced as American Indians sprang up. Thus, both the elite and common people of America shared an important symbol in their common goal of changing their identity and government.

9

AN AMERICAN SYNTHESIS

The Sons of Saint Tammany or Columbian Order

Let us who are born on the same great Continent love one another; our interest is the same and we ought to be one people always ready to assist and serve each other. What are the people who belong on the other side of the water to either of us?

—American Commissioners to the Sachems of the Six Nations at the Treaty of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 9 March 1778[1]

The trade of Pennsylvania has been more considerable with the Indians than that of the neighbouring colonies.

—James Wilson, 26 July 1776[2]

Many colonial Americans viewed American society as a synthesis of Native American and European cultures. The Sons of Saint Tammany, or Columbian Order, a classic example of the blending of the two cultures, was a broad-based popular movement, which reinforced the founders' usage of symbols and ideological concepts indigenous to North America. When it inherited the patriotic mantle from the Sons of Liberty in Philadelphia, the Tammany society became an eloquent voice for the philosophy that America was a unique synthesis of the best and noblest aspects of Europe and America; in fact, the celebration of Tammany Day may have been an attempt to adapt May Day and other Old World holidays to the new American environment. Building upon their own experiences with American Indians, founders such as James Madison and Thomas Jefferson used the Tammany societies and their memberships to forge a new democratic party after the formation of the United States Constitution. Other founders—Benjamin Franklin, John Dickinson, and Benjamin Rush, among them—became influential members of the society.

American Indians were more than a symbol of freedom to the Sons of Saint Tammany. To members of their revolutionary generation, American Indians represented a wellspring of new ideas, many of which freed Euro-Americans from the antiquated ideas of class and autocratic government that had so long existed in Europe. In the late eighteenth century, Tammany society members from Georgia to Rhode Island to the Ohio River frequently consulted with American Indian leaders and sought to study American Indian languages and ideas. The society's members favored the same concepts and values that founders such as Franklin and Jefferson had observed in native societies—a weak executive (except in times of war), popular participation in government, and charity for the poor. Even James Madison felt compelled to seek out the Iroquois and their counsel after he became disillusioned with the Articles of Confederation in 1784.

Although the origins of the Tammany society are ambiguous, it appears that Tammany, a Delaware chief friendly to William Penn, became a popular figure in the folklore of early Pennsylvania. The society named in his honor became an avenue for the expression of a regional American identity by the mid-eighteenth century. The society's ability to synthesize American and European values and forge a new identity made it a potent force for creating a national identity as well. Its use of an amalgam of symbols from not only American Indians but their "discoverer," Christopher Columbus, as well, denoted that its members were willing and able to adapt both Native American and European values in their quest for a viable American identity before, during, and after the American Revolution.

American Indian ways symbolized peace and freedom to many Europeans even before they set foot on American soil. Prior to Penn's arrival in the New World in 1682, he was already determined to establish amicable and peaceful relations with the American Indians of the Delaware Valley and surrounding areas. On 21 June 1682, the eve of his departure, he wrote a letter to the "Emperor of Canada" (that is, to an

Iroquois sachem) stating his desire that the "Great God that made thee and me and all the World" would "Incline our hearts to love peace and Justice that we may live friendly together as becomes the workmanship of the great God."[3]

This letter was similar to the message of peace that provided the basis for the Great Law of the Iroquois.[4] Penn's attitudes of peace and justice ingratiated him to the Delawares and (according to the Tammany society's legend) to the Delaware chief Tammany. Perhaps Penn's initial successes with the Delawares (and also the Iroquois) were based on their common understanding and promotion of the amicable feelings of peace—among all human beings—that would lead to an equitable and just society.

It is well known that Penn was humane and respectful to American Indians in a variety of situations. The folklore of the early settlement of Pennsylvania described his relationship with American Indians in this manner:

> [He] made himself endeared to the Indians by his marked condescension and acquiescence in their wishes. He walked with them, sat with them on the ground, and ate with them of their roasted acorns and homony [*sic*]. At this they expressed their great delight, and soon began to show how they could hop and jump; at which exhibition William Penn, to cap the climax sprang up and beat them all.[5]

Initially, Penn dealt with the Unami (Turtle Totem) Lenni Lenape (Delaware), and Tammany played a prominent role in these early treaties negotiated by Penn. Although the real Tammany's mark appeared on only two treaties (23 June 1683 and 15 June 1692), he was destined to become a legendary figure in United States and Pennsylvania history and folklore.[6] Tradition had it that Tammany's name meant "the affable" and that he was one of the Delaware Indians who welcomed Penn on his arrival in America, 27 October 1682.[7] By the time of a 6 July 1694 meeting between the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania and a delegation of Indians, Tammany had become a strong supporter of the Europeans and their policies.[8] From these facts and folklore, a legendary Tammany was constructed in the early eighteenth century who was the colonists' friend and counselor.

Eventually, the celebration of Tammany's friendship was fused with the British May Day traditions. Once this fusion took place, the peace, justice, freedom, and strength of American Indian confederacies became a beacon to American revolutionaries seeking an alternative to the autocracy of the British monarchy.

The diverse roots of the Sons of Saint Tammany sprang from the folk culture of early America and the attempt to resolve conflicts between European and American Indian cultures. As early as 1637, it was recorded that colonists erected maypoles (usually pine trees made into posts about eighty feet high) to the top of which they nailed buck horns. American Indians were invited to the May Day revelry and celebrations; it was in this way that the English rite of spring became "Americanized."[9]

Building upon the popularity of such early celebrations, Chief Tammany's mythic importance among the people of Philadelphia, in particular, crystallized after a group of Quakers established the Schuylkill Fishing Company in 1732. Claiming that their fishing rights in the Schuylkill River had been given to them by the Delaware chief and friend to Penn, Tammany, the company adopted him as its patron saint. His "saint's day" was designated as 1 May, which was also the traditional beginning of the fishing season as well as May Day. While Chief Tammany was regarded as a sort of spirit of nature by many Philadelphians who celebrated his ritual day to assure a bountiful fishing season, he also seemed to have been associated with their resolve to protect their fishing rights (and, by proxy, their political rights).

Within a decade, the Schuylkill Fishing Company began to build on Tammany's legend by creating mottoes that they attributed to him. For instance, in 1747 the company presented a cannon to the Association Battery of Philadelphia, which was stamped *Kwanio Che Keeteru* ("This is my right, and I will defend it"), a phrase attributed to Tammany.[10] This was an especially prophetic phrase for the increasingly restless colonists; by the time of the Stamp Act crisis eighteen years later, images of an American Indian, often Tammany, were being used widely as symbols of resistance to British authority. The colonists were beginning to forge a new identity, calling themselves "Americans," a word offered in place of their former European nationalities. The colonists were surprisingly conscious of the composite Euro-American identity they were creating.

The first reports of May Day ceremonies that involved the legendary Indian chief (Tamina or Tammany), who visited families on the eve of May Day, scaring children with his whoops and hollers only to become friendly, appeared around the mid-eighteenth century. An account of a 1 May 1771 Tammany Day celebration described people who entered a room, singing songs, "giving the whoop, and dancing in the style of those people [American Indians]."[11] Such celebrations occurred in Philadelphia and Annapolis on a regular basis by the early 1770s. By this time, members of the Sons of Liberty (a secret revolutionary society organized a decade earlier) had also adopted Chief or "King" Tammany as their patron saint, which helped to validate their emerging identity as Americans. Tammany had now been transformed into a powerful mythic figure who would help to mold the new American nation's identity.

The Sons of Liberty had a well-known tradition of cloaking themselves in American Indian symbols and utilizing American Indian concepts. One of the group's important leaders, Joseph Allicocke, was a "mulattoe" who led street demonstrations against British authority. Initially an employee of British merchant interests, Allicocke became disillusioned with his employers and their government in 1765, when the Stamp Act was passed, and helped organize the first street protest against the hated tax in New York City. On 21 May 1766, a victorious Allicocke was "promoted" to "General" and given a twenty-one-gun salute as the people of New York City celebrated the repeal of the Stamp Act. Later, he helped to break up British military parades by throwing brickbats and gained further notoriety for leading a force of Liberty Boys onto a parade field to stop the exercises of the British troops.

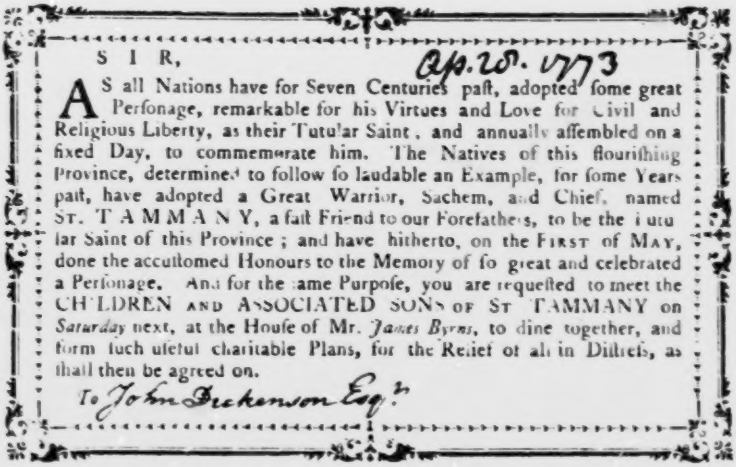
Allicocke was a member of the Sons of Liberty Committee of Correspondence that sent wampum belts to the Iroquois to request their military aid in the war against the British. He was such a widely respected leader that he was even called on to meet with the colonial governor of New York on several occasions in an attempt to quell the violence and protests in the streets. British intelligence reports of the time made it clear that Allicocke and Isaac Sears were the main leaders of the New York Sons of Liberty. In order to organize demonstrations and coordinate protests, the Euro-American leader, Isaac Sears, needed Allicocke's support, since he had the respect of the common people—the apprentices, artisans, and laborers of New York City.[12]

According to his biographer, John Rutledge of South Carolina was exposed to Iroquois ideas while at the Stamp Act Congress. Later, at the Constitutional Convention, Rutledge recalled his experience with the Iroquois.[13] In the hearts and minds of many rebellious American colonists, the Iroquois (and American Indians in general), symbolized autonomy and a new American identity. Since forging a new identity was a crucial step toward revolution, the ideas and symbols of the Iroquois would be utilized quite effectively as the revolutionary movement evolved. Dealing with American Indians was an experience shared by all colonists and thus helped them in overcoming sectional and regional differences; relating to American Indians was one of their few common experiences.

Although the Stamp Act crisis forced a temporary retreat by the British, tensions remained between the colonists and their overseas masters. Many Americans contented themselves with shoring up the Committees of Correspondence during the next few years as a means of promoting colonial unity. At the same time, the Sons of Liberty in Philadelphia had begun a transformation. By this time, many colonists had been born in America and felt little affinity for the patron saints of the British Isles (Saint George of England or Saint Andrew of Scotland, for example). Many were also a mixture of various European ethnic groups, and identifying with an American Indian folk hero such as Tammany was, therefore, a way to assert the new, emerging "American" ethnic identity.

So, on 1 May 1772, the "Sons of King Tammany" was born in Philadelphia as the heir of the Sons of Liberty. The meeting began with a toast to themselves, "St. George, St. Andrew, St. Patrick, and St. David." They also proclaimed that all the saints (including the American Indian Tammany) should "love each other as the brethren of one common ancestor." Furthermore, the new Tammany society believed that all the ethnic societies should [illegible]e "in their hearty endeavors to preserve their native Constitutional American Liberties."[14]

The Sons of King Tammany attempted to unify patriotic Americans under a benign American Indian symbol (see figure 33). The reason for



S I R, Ap. 28. 1773

AS all Nations have for Seven Centuries paſt, adopted ſome great Perſonage, remarkable for his Virtues and Love for Civil and Religious Liberty, as their Tutular Saint, and annually aſſembled on a fixed Day, to commemorate him. The Natives of this flouriſhing Province, determined to follow ſo laudable an Example, for ſome Years paſt, have adopted a Great Warrior, Sachem, and Chief, named ST. TAMMANY, a faſt Friend to our Forefathers, to be the Tutular Saint of this Province; and have hitherto, on the FIRST of MAY, done the accuſtomed Honours to the Memory of ſo great and celebrated a Perſonage. And for the ſame Purpoſe, you are requeſted to meet the CHILDREN AND ASSOCIATED SONS OF ST TAMMANY on *Saturday* next, at the Houſe of Mr. *James Byrns*, to dine together, and form ſuch uſeful charitable Plans, for the Relief of all in Diſtreſs, as ſhall then be agreed on.

To John Dickenson Esqr.

FIGURE 33. St. Tammany. From Dickenson #203. Courtesy of Library Company of Philadelphia.

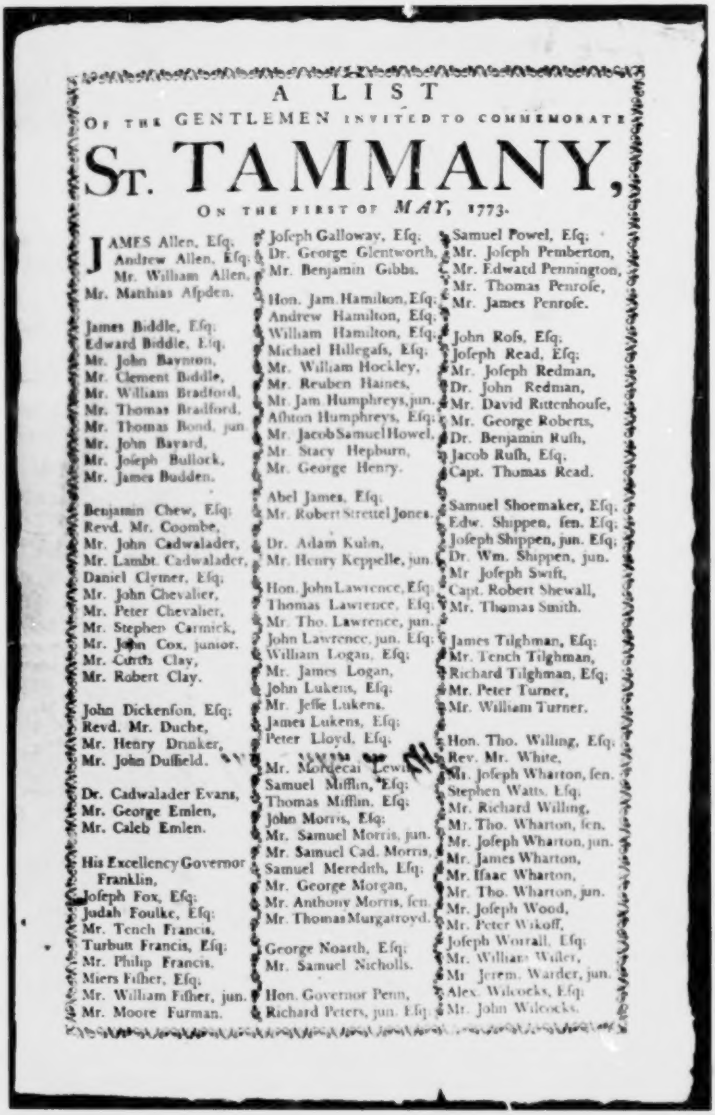
choosing Tammany as this symbol was twofold. First, Tammany was already a part of the folk tradition. Second, Tammany was portrayed as a benign Delaware chief who had helped the early Pennsylvania colonists and was a friend to Penn. By presenting themselves as American Indians, the restive colonists could assert their new "American" identity publicly and protest British imperial policies without fear of discovery. In uniting against the British to preserve what they perceived as an American way of life, the Americans created a symbolic synthesis of European and American Indian ways.

By 1773, the Tammany society in Philadelphia had grown so disenchanted with King George III that its members held a mock "canonization" of King Tammany in order to change their name to the Sons of Saint Tammany.[15] (See figure 34.) With this act, the organization fused a folk holiday (May Day) with a patriotic organization. Very soon, Tammany societies began to appear in other colonies.

In the fall of 1773, a petition was circulated in New York City to reinstitute the Sons of Liberty, which had been dissolved in 1766 after the repeal of the Stamp Act.[16] In December the re-formed Sons of Liberty began a program of creative mischief, which was cloaked in Native American symbols and imagery, as a prelude to actual armed rebellion; the best-known historical example of this was their "Mohawk" disguise at the Boston Tea Party (described in "Mohawks, Axes, and Taxes").

By 1776, revolutionaries such as John Adams had begun to take note of the influence of American Indian ideas upon their lives. On 24 January 1776 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Adams attended a dinner with George Washington, his staff, several Caughnawaga Mohawk chiefs, and their wives. During the course of the dinner, Washington referred to Adams (one of the Massachusetts delegates to the Continental Congress) as a member "of the Grand Council Fire at Philadelphia."[17] Adams later noted that the Mohawks were impressed with Washington's introduction; he was, himself, excited about meeting the Mohawks and wrote to his wife that he was "much pleased with this day's entertainment." He also observed that several of the Caughnawagas were part French and that one chief was English, having been captured "in his infancy."[18]

During the summer before this dinner, Adams had been immersed in affairs concerning the Iroquois as well as planning for the meeting at Albany in August and September. In ten years' time, Adams would become quite familiar with some aspects of native governments. He discoursed on the need to study Indian governments—citing examples such as their separation of powers, the personal independence of the Mohawks, the sachemship of the Iroquois Confederacy, and the "fifty



A LIST

OF THE GENTLEMEN INVITED TO COMMEMORATE

ST. TAMMANY,

ON THE FIRST OF *MAY*, 1773.

JAMES Allen, Eſq.
Andrew Allen, Eſq:
Mr. William Allen,
Mr. Matthias Aſpden.

James Biddle, Eſq:
Edward Biddle, Eſq.
Mr. John Baynton,
Mr. Clement Biddle,
Mr. William Bradford,
Mr. Thomas Bradford,
Mr. Thomas Bond, jun.
Mr. John Bayard,
Mr. Joſeph Bullock,
Mr. James Budden.

Benjamin Chew, Eſq:
Revd. Mr. Coombe,
Mr. John Cadwalader,
Mr. Lambt. Cadwalader,
Daniel Clymer, Eſq:
Mr. John Chevalier,
Mr. Peter Chevalier,
Mr. Stephen Carmick,
Mr. John Cox, junior.
Mr. Curtis Clay,
Mr. Robert Clay.

John Dickenſon, Eſq:
Revd. Mr. Duche,
Mr. Henry Drinker,
Mr. John Duffield.

Dr. Cadwalader Evans,
Mr. George Emlen,
Mr. Caleb Emlen.

His Excellency Governor Franklin,
Joſeph Fox, Eſq:
Judah Foulke, Eſq:
Mr. Tench Francis,
Turbutt Francis, Eſq:
Mr. Philip Francis,
Miers Fiſher, Eſq:
Mr. William Fiſher, jun.
Mr. Moore Furman.

Joſeph Galloway, Eſq:
Dr. George Glentworth,
Mr. Benjamin Gibbs.

Hon. Jam. Hamilton, Eſq:
Andrew Hamilton, Eſq:
William Hamilton, Eſq:
Michael Hillegaſs, Eſq:
Mr. William Hockley,
Mr. Reuben Haines,
Mr. Jam. Humphreys, jun.
Aſhton Humphreys, Eſq:
Mr. Jacob Samuel Howel,
Mr. Stacy Hepburn,
Mr. George Henry.

Abel James, Eſq:
Mr. Robert Strettel Jones.

Dr. Adam Kuhn,
Mr. Henry Keppelle, jun.

Hon. John Lawrence, Eſq:
Thomas Lawrence, Eſq:
Mr. Tho. Lawrence, jun.
John Lawrence, jun. Eſq:
William Logan, Eſq:
Mr. James Logan,
John Lukens, Eſq:
Mr. Jeſſe Lukens.
James Lukens, Eſq:
Peter Lloyd, Eſq:

Mr. Mordecai Lewi
Samuel Mifflin, Eſq:
Thomas Mifflin, Eſq:
John Morris, Eſq:
Mr. Samuel Morris, jun.
Mr. Samuel Cad. Morris,
Samuel Meredith, Eſq:
Mr. George Morgan,
Mr. Anthony Morris, ſen.
Mr. Thomas Murgatroyd.

George Noarth, Eſq:
Mr. Samuel Nicholls.

Hon. Governor Penn,
Richard Peters, jun. Eſq:

Samuel Powel, Eſq:
Mr. Joſeph Pemberton,
Mr. Edward Pennington,
Mr. Thomas Penroſe,
Mr. James Penroſe.

John Roſs, Eſq:
Joſeph Read, Eſq:
Mr. Joſeph Redman,
Dr. John Redman,
Mr. David Rittenhouſe,
Mr. George Roberts,
Dr. Benjamin Ruſh,
Jacob Ruſh, Eſq.
Capt. Thomas Read.

Samuel Shoemaker, Eſq:
Edw. Shippen, ſen. Eſq:
Joſeph Shippen, jun. Eſq:
Dr. Wm. Shippen, jun.
Mr Joſeph Swift,
Capt. Robert Shewall,
Mr. Thomas Smith.

James Tilghman, Eſq:
Mr. Tench Tilghman,
Richard Tilghman, Eſq:
Mr. Peter Turner,
Mr. William Turner.

Hon. Tho. Willing, Eſq:
Rev. Mr. White,
Mr. Joſeph Wharton, ſen.
Stephen Watts, Eſq:
Mr. Richard Willing,
Mr. Tho. Wharton, ſen.
Mr. Joſeph Wharton, jun.
Mr. James Wharton,
Mr. Iſaac Wharton,
Mr. Tho. Wharton, jun.
Mr. Joſeph Wood,
Mr. Peter Wikoff,
Joſeph Worrall, Eſq:
Mr. William Willer,
Mr Jerem. Warder, jun.
Alex. Wilcocks, Eſq:
Mr. John Wilcocks.

FIGURE 34. From Dickenson #208. Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

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[governing] families"—in his *Defence of the Constitutions of the . . . United States of America* (1787).[19]

In August 1776 a congressional committee reported on its suggestions for a seal for the new nation. One of the designs showed the colonies united by a chain; another depicted a frontiersman dressed in buckskin "with his tomahawk."[20] By May of the following year, James Wilson would state that liberty under the British constitution no longer existed for Americans, but with "proper culture" in any soil, the transplanted "Branch will flourish though the root be rotten."[21] However, Congress did not approve the revised Articles of Confederation until November 1777, and it would be another four years until all thirteen states finally ratified their new national government.[22]

The powers defined by the Articles of Confederation were not much greater than those invested in the Congress. There were no provisions for a judicial or an executive branch. Congress held the power to engage in diplomacy, coin money, regulate Indian affairs, and settle disputes among the states, with only limited power to tax or regulate trade. The new government expected to subsist on contributions from the states for defense. Each state had one vote and retained the ordinary powers and duties assigned to governments. The example of Iroquois unity had served as a catalyst for American unity. If the Iroquois could unite and thwart the colonial designs of France and England, then certainly the more populous colonies could successfully challenge British authority. The Iroquois had given ready counsel on how to form an "American" government that could revolutionize and liberate the American people.[23]

As a delegate to the Continental Congress, Adams often witnessed the blending of European and Native American ways. On 1 May 1777, he enthusiastically reported to his wife the origin of Saint Tammany Day in Philadelphia.

> This is King Tammany's Day. Tammany was an Indian King, of this part of the Continent, when Mr. Penn first came here. His court was in this town. He was friendly to Mr. Penn and very serviceable to him. He lived here among the first settlers for some time and until old age.
>
> ……
>
> Some say he lived here with Mr. Penn when he first came here, and upon Mr. Penn's return he heard of it, and called on his grandchildren to lead him to this place to see his old friend. But they went off and left him blind and very old. Upon this the old man finding himself forsaken, he made up a large fire and threw himself into it. The people here have sainted him and keep his day.[24]

The Continental Congress had become so steeped in Iroquois traditions that it issued a propaganda pamphlet in 1777 entitled *Apocalypse de Chiokoyhekoy, Chef des Iroquois,* which claimed that an Iroquois prophecy of the apocalypse was coming to pass. The pamphlet displayed an extensive knowledge of Iroquois culture and diplomacy. It argued that several beasts were currently fighting for control of Iroquois territory and predicted that the better beast (the United States) would win out over the worse beast (Great Britain). In this apocalyptic vision, the Euro-Americans emerged as the lesser of two evils, because they were developing a government that was similar to the Great Law of the Iroquois.

According to this prophecy, the triumph of the United States would allow the Iroquois to return to their traditional way of life. This piece of propaganda was significant not only because it demonstrated the understanding that the colonists had of Iroquois concepts, but because it also forecast the decline and rejuvenation of Iroquois traditional ways. In many ways, this prophecy provided an explanation for the success of Handsome Lake's religious revitalization movement among the Seneca and the Iroquois at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[25]

During the harsh winter of 1777–78, American Indian ways were very much on the minds of the Congress and the Continental Army at Valley Forge. On 1 November 1777, Congress recommended a day of thanksgiving for all the states. This resolution was framed in committee by Samuel Adams, delegate from Massachusetts, and no doubt was derived from the legendary thanksgiving feast between the Pilgrims of Massachusetts and the Indians.[26]

More importantly, the direct aid of the Oneidas helped the Continental Army under General Washington survive the winter at Valley Forge. The Oneidas brought corn to the starving American army, which ensured their survival as a fighting force, and the soldiers did not forget this debt. On 1 May 1778, with the bitter winter over, they held a Tammany Day celebration that recalled the symbolic unity of the Iroquois and the United States.[27] Washington's men spent the day in "mirth and jollity" as the soldiers paraded,

> marching with fife and drum and Huzzaing as they passed the poles [erected the evening before] their hats adorned with white blossoms. The following was the procession of the 3rd J Regt on the aforesaid day first one serjeant in an Indian habit representing King Tammany. Second Thirteen Serjeants drest in white each with a bow in his left hand and thirteen arrows in his right. Thirdly thirteen Drums and fifes. Fourthly the privates in thirteen platoons, thirteen men each—The Non-Commissioned Officers and Soldiers being drawn up in the aforesaid

> manner on the Regimental Parade gave 3 Cheers at their own pole . . . in the evening the officers of the aforesaid Regt assembled and had a song and dance in honor of King Tammany.[28]

The symbol of the bundle of arrows was directly borrowed from Section 57 of the Great Law of the Iroquois. Although Philadelphia was occupied by the British at the time, the Valley Forge celebration of Saint Tammany's Day increased the morale of the army and the people of Pennsylvania.

In September 1778, the Continental Congress went even further by inviting the Delawares to join the new confederation. While negotiating a treaty with them, the treaty commissioners took a dramatic step by suggesting that they might be admitted as a state. The treaty stated,

> And it is further agreed . . . should it . . . be found conducive for . . . both parties to invite any other tribes who have been friends to the interest of the United States, to join the present confederation, and to form a state whereof the Delaware nation shall be head, and have a representation in Congress.[29]

This proposal demonstrated the Continental Congress' respect for the stature and power of American Indian nations. The increased interaction with the Iroquois and other tribes familiar with the Iroquois Great Law, such as the Delawares, was reflected in the Tammany society's fusion of Iroquois imagery with their mythic leader's identity. This was a natural process, since the Iroquois were the best known of the eastern woodland Indians among Euro-Americans and perhaps the world. Consequently, Washington could state at the end of the Revolution that he had "been more in the way of learning the sentiments of the Six Nations than of any of the other tribes of Indians."[30]

After the Revolution, chapters of the Sons of Saint Tammany quickly spread throughout the states and the Northwest Territory. Traditional May Day celebrations in the name of Saint Tammany were held from Georgia to Rhode Island and on the banks of the Ohio River. In many cases, the postrevolutionary Tammany societies were outgrowths of the local Sons of Liberty organizations; this was especially true of the New York and Philadelphia branches of the society.[31] The Tammany society used the rhetoric of the Iroquois and other American Indian nations in its public speeches and declarations. By the 1780s, the society was a potent political force whose members delighted in welcoming American Indian delegations to the cities of Philadelphia and New York.

The Philadelphia Tammany society became known as the "Constitutional Sons of Saint Tammany" by the end of the Revolution; as early as 1772, it had dedicated itself to the preservation of "native Constitutional American Liberties."[32] On 1 May 1783, to celebrate the impending conclusion to the Revolution, the society organized a parade with "thirteen sachems" dressed as Indians as part of festivities utilizing many other American Indian symbols. The Tammany Grand Sachem was vested, in jest, with supreme authority for the day; he declared that every man was "to do as he please during the day." A hatchet was then produced by the secretary of the society, who reminded the people that there had been a war but peace was now imminent. He said that the American people had taken the hatchet and struck the enemy with it, and the enemy had submitted. Victory being assured, the secretary asked the assembled warriors, hunters, and young men to bury the hatchet; each man then tossed a stone on top of the hatchet to signify their agreement.

The ceremony ended with cannon fire and the playing of "Yankee Doodle," after which a six-foot peace pipe with thirteen feathers and thirteen stars was ceremonially smoked by the several hundred people in attendance. Numerous toasts were drunk to Saint Tammany, the Constitution of Pennsylvania, the Union, and General Washington.[33] Next, the Grand Sachem led the singing of the traditional Saint Tammany's Day song, which was "in vogue in the social celebrations long before the Revolution."

Of Andrew, of Patrick, of David, and George,
What mighty achievements we hear!
While no one relates great Tammany's feats,
Although more heroic by far, my brave boys,
Although more heroic by far.

These heroes fought only as fancy inspired,
As by their own stories we find;
Whilst Tammany, he fought only to free
From cruel oppression mankind, my brave boys,
From cruel oppression mankind.

When our country was young and our numbers were few
To our fathers his friendship was shown,
(For he e'er would oppose whom he took for his foes)
And he made our misfortunes his own, my brave boys,
And he made our misfortunes his own.

At length, growing old and quite worn out with years,
As history doth truly proclaim,

> *His wigwam was fired, he nobly expired,*
> *And flew to the skies in a flame, my brave boys,*
> *And flew to the skies in a flame.*[34]

After singing several more songs and bearing the Grand Sachem of the day on their shoulders to the banks of the Schuylkill River, the revelers marched back to the city "Indian file," each man returning "in peace to his own home."[35]

The following year the Sons of Saint Tammany met at Edward Pole's country seat on the banks of the Schuylkill once again.

> The chiefs and sachems were elected, the council fire kindled, the law of liberty proclaimed, the calumet was smoked, and the dance to the calabash performed.
>
> When the feast was prepared and the Sons of [Saint] Tammany seated, intelligence was received that General Washington had just arrived in the city. One of the company, with a voice of exhultation, cried out: "General Washington has arrived. Huzza!"[36]

After a hearty round of cheers for Washington, the members sat on the grass and toasted various dignitaries and the Pennsylvania Constitution. On their way home, the Sons of Saint Tammany saluted the general, who was then dining at Lemon Hill (near Fifth and Market Streets) with Robert Morris, the financier general of the United States. After the salutation, a gentleman appeared in "powwow dress" and performed a "manetta dance" for the benefit of all.[37] Tammany celebrations had become important political events. On 1 May 1785, Washington arranged his itinerary so that he and the governor of Virginia, Patrick Henry, could attend a Tammany celebration in Richmond.[38]

As uneasiness with the new government increased, Native American alternatives became more attractive to common citizens and leaders alike. During the revolutionary war, the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation were not readily apparent, and, except for taxation, there were no attempts to augment the powers of Congress. This weakness was primarily due to the absence of an executive or, as the Iroquois would say, someone to "kindle the fire." The Articles stipulated that no delegate could serve any more than three years in six, but this misguided effort to promote rotation in office backfired. In fact, delegates moved in and out of office more frequently than the written restrictions. Absenteeism also was a problem. It was a government of amateurs whose public service was burdensome to them, because it meant that these planters, merchants, and businessmen had to leave their affairs unattended for extended periods of time.[39]

Within the context of these events, James Madison, one of the major architects of the United States Constitution, tired of Virginia politics and decided to travel to Iroquois country in 1784 to renew his friendship with the Oneida chief, Grasshopper. It was also clear that during this trip Madison's mind was on western expansion and the question of the opening of the Mississippi River. Perhaps he was curious about American Indian governments as well, since the Sons of Saint Tammany societies were becoming a political force throughout the new nation. Certainly, the Tammany society and the trip to Iroquois country were to play an important part in American politics; Madison and Jefferson would later form secret societies like the Tammany society in building their new Anti-Federalist party in the 1790s.[40] At any rate, three Virginians and future presidents—Madison, Jefferson, and Monroe—planned trips to Iroquois country after the American Revolution. Madison and Monroe were able to go, but Jefferson was called to France as ambassador and had to content himself with reports from his friends.

Accompanied by the Marquis de Lafayette, the Chevalier de Caraman (Lafayette's aide), and Francois de Marbois, French chargé d'affaires, Madison traveled to Fort Stanwix, near Rome, New York. Fearing a clash with the Spanish on the navigation of the Mississippi, Madison believed that Spain must look for security "in the complexity of our federal government" and the diversity of "interests among the members of it." Certainly, Madison would find a model for territorial expansion that was capable of incorporating diverse elements when he encountered the union and society of the Iroquois.[41] For instance, one of the Oneida bearers accompanying Madison on the journey identified himself, in excellent French, as Nicolas Jordan from a French village near Amiens. Jordan related how he had been captured during the French and Indian War and had married a chief's daughter. He confessed to missing France occasionally, but he had lived among the Oneidas so long that his age and his children fixed him "here, forever." As soon as the Oneidas adopted him, he "experienced great humanity from them," and Jordan confessed, "I no longer think of leaving them."[42] Such a revelation about the virtues of American Indian life must had surprised Madison and his companions.

Even more surprising to Madison was the discovery of a Euro-American woman living among the Oneidas who had even stronger opinions about the virtues of Oneida life. Noticing a woman who was fairer than the others, Madison and his companions verbally hammered her in English until she admitted that she was not an Indian.

She told them that she had been a servant girl in a New York planter's house and had fled to the Oneidas. They had welcomed her, and she lived happily among them. She told the puzzled Frenchmen and Madison,

> The whites treated me harshly. I saw them take rest while they made me work without a break. I ran the risk of being beaten, or dying of hunger, if through fatigue or laziness I refused to do what I was told. Here I have no master, I am the equal of all the women in the tribe, I do what I please without anyone's saying anything about it, I work only for myself—I shall marry if I wish and be unmarried again when I wish. Is there a single woman as independent as I in your cities?[43]

These accounts doubtless had an influence upon Madison in his search for a workable government for America during the next few years. In addition to these experiences, he renewed his acquaintance with the Oneida chief, Grasshopper, who had visited Philadelphia in 1781. More importantly, Madison was exposed to the governmental structure and ideas of freedom of the Iroquois people.

In April 1786, the Sons of Saint Tammany welcomed Cornplanter and five other Senecas to Philadelphia. In a remarkable ceremony, the Tammany sachems escorted the Senecas from their lodgings at the Indian Queen Tavern to the Tammany society's wigwam on the banks of the Schuylkill River for a conference. Cornplanter's address to the assemblage was eloquent.

> This great gathering of our brothers is to commemorate the memory of our great-grand-father. It is a day of pleasure (pointing to . . . Tammany colors). You know that your and our grandfathers loved one another and strongly recommended to their children to live in union and friendship with all their brethren and to bury the hatchet forever. I also wish (looking up to heaven) that we may all live as our great-grand-fathers lived, in peace and unity!
>
> The business I am come on is to have us all united as one man, and it may be my happiness to have it so. Let us keep fast the chain of friendship, and put the same around us. Then we shall have nothing to fear from the great kings on the other side of the waters. Brothers if we can effect this[,] to become brothers united as one man[,] there is no people that shall think evil of us, that a frown from us will not intimidate. I heard it said that our great-grand-fathers are dead. They are not dead. They now look down upon us and know what we are doing.[44]

After Cornplanter's speech, a Tammany sachem replied,

> We meet as brothers, and it is to us a day of pleasure. We meet here every year to remember our great-grand-father Tammany, and three years ago we buried the hatchet in a great deep hole near that stump; we covered it with heavy stones because we wished it never to rise again. You will see great trees growing over it under which we wish our children to sit. We kindled a fire here, it is a bright fire, for our young men to sit by, and there are twelve other fires. But there is a greater fire than all of them. We are glad you are going to that great fire. You will find the road plain and bright. They will bind the chain of friendship round their bodies, and it cannot be broken, but by cutting them in two. We have nothing to fear. Our great men will dry the tears from your eyes. We are pleased that you came; to effect this God sent you. He loves peace and friendship. We love you because you are from the great-grand-father, and we shall never forget that you visited our wigwam.[45]

Within a few days, Cornplanter and the Senecas proceeded to New York City to address Congress. In his address to Congress on 2 May 1786 (see figure 35), Cornplanter expressed concern about the unity of the United States.

> Brothers of the Thirteen Fires, I am glad to see you. It gives me pleasure to see you meet in Council to consult about public affairs. May the Great Spirit above direct you in such measures as are good. I wish to put the chunks together to make the Thirteen Fires burn brighter.[46]

Even a casual examination of public sentiment in America would demonstrate that Cornplanter's council was respected and that his remarks were widely reported by American newspapers of the time.

The Philadelphia Saint Tammany's Day festivities following the Senecas' visit were marked with the usual celebrations and feasts. Charles Biddle, vice president of Pennsylvania, was elected chief sachem and hailed as "Tammany," "the Grand Sachem, or the chief to whom all our nation looks up." On this occasion, Eliza Phile presented a portrait of Cornplanter to Jonathan Bayard Smith, another Tammany sachem. Over a dozen toasts were made, including,

> The Great Council Fire of the United States—May the [thirteen] fires glow in one blended blaze and illumine the Eagle in his flight to the stars. . . . Our great grand sachem George Washington, Esq. . . . Our Brother Iontonkque or the Corn Plant—May we ever remember that he visited our wigwam and spoke a good talk from our great-grand-fathers. . . . The Friendly Indian Nations—our warriors and young men who fought, bled and gave good council for our nation.[47]

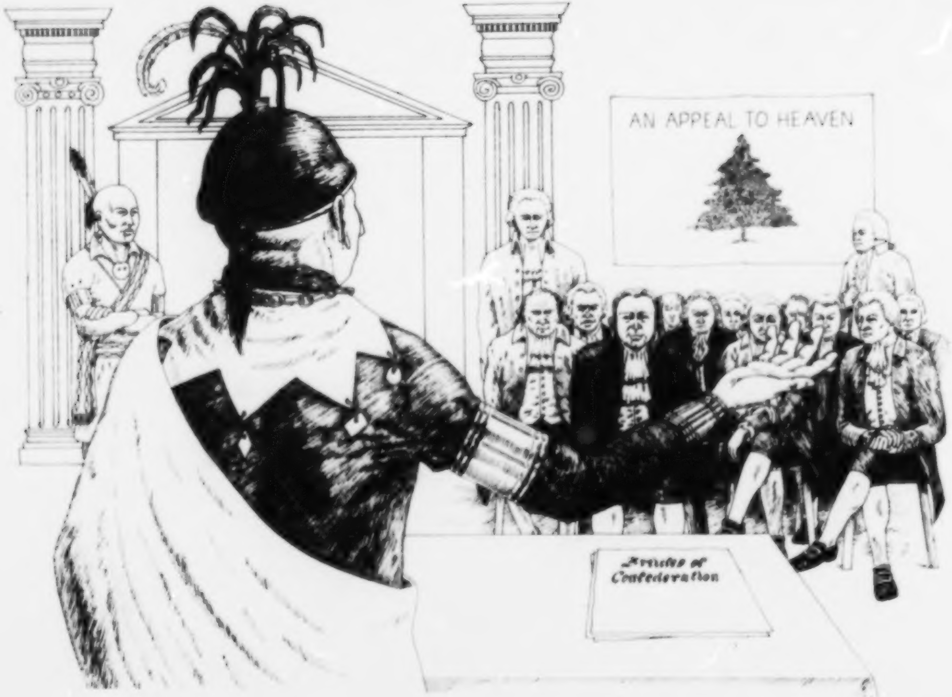
AN APPEAL TO HEAVEN
Articles of Confederation

FIGURE 35. On 2 May 1786, Cornplanter addressed Congress in New York City. By John Kahionhes Fadden.

The following "Ode to Saint Tammany," which detailed the symbolic significance of Tammany, was then recited.

When Superstition's dark and haughty plan
Fettered the genius and debased the man.
Each trifling legend was as truth received;
The priest invented, and the crowd believed;
Nations adored the whim in stone or paint,
And gloried in the fabricated saint.
Some holy guardian, hence, each nation claims—
Gay France her Denis and grave Spain her James.
Britons at once two mighty saints obey—
Andrew and George maintain united sway.
O'er humbler lands the same odd whim prevails;
Ireland her Patrick boasts, her David wails.
We Pennsylvanians these old tales reject,
And our saint think proper to elect—
Immortal Tammany, of Indian race.
Great in the field and foremost in the chase,
No puny saint was he, with fasting pale.
He climbed the mountain and he swept the vale;
Rushed through the forest in unequal flight—
Your ancient saints would tremble at the sight—
Caught the swift boar and swifter deer with ease,
And worked a thousand miracles like these.
To public views he added private ends,
And loved his country most, and next his friends.
With courage long he strove to ward the blow,
(Courage we all respect e'en in a foe),
And when each effort he in vain had tried,
Kindled the flame in which he bravely died!
To Tammany let well-filled horns go round;
His fame let every honest tongue resound;
With him let every generous patriot vie
To live in freedom, or with honor die!
Nor shall I think my labors too severe,
Since ye, wise sachems, kindly deign to hear.[48]

The Tammany sachems and a great number of spectators then proceeded to the residence of "brother Benjamin Franklin" who "was saluted" when he appeared. Franklin thanked them for the "honour paid him, then the brothers all retired to their own wigwams."[49]

That May, Saint Tammany's Day celebrations were noted as far away as Savannah, Georgia and Richmond, Virginia. The last toast at the Richmond banquet was, "May the great spirit encircle the whole world in the belt of friendship."[50] On 1 May 1787, Saint Tammany's Day was celebrated in Philadelphia and, for the first time, in New York City with the toast, "May the American chain never be tarnished by the rust of discord."[51]

The image of Saint Tammany long outlived its prerevolutionary roots. Tammany was the main character in a 1795 Broadway play and reappeared (as "Tamenund") at the conclusion of James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*. Alan Leander MacGregor called Tammany a "rhetorical surrogate in political debate and action," perhaps the native image most often used in this regard.[52] Although not as well-known today as the "Mohawks" of the Boston Tea Party, Tammany was also used to express a distinct American identity as well as to agitate for popular rule.

According to MacGregor, the fictionalized Tammany became "a patron saint in America's civil religion."[53] The American colonial environment became a laboratory for the testing of the Enlightenment's spirit of naturalism and a place where the European and American characters combined into a unique synthesis. In this process, American Indians—and the European images of them—played a very important role.

The Indian was certainly a symbol of anti-authoritarian values to the rebels who staged the "Whiskey Rebellion" in 1794 over the issue of another tax. The protesters again disguised themselves as the Boston Tea Party "Mohawks" had. They erected "Liberty Poles" and set forth their grievances in a mock "Indian Treaty."[54]

The image of Tammany also figured prominently in the emerging political divisions within the United States. It was used by the Jeffersonian Anti-Federalists to parody the "aristocratic tendencies" among the Hamiltonian Federalists. In 1793, "an Oneida Chief" warned that if "Tories" did not stop vilifying the French Revolution, "the 'Mohawks, Oneidas and Senecas'—the Tammany tribes—would act."[55]

At about this time, Ann Julia Hatton arrived in New York City, where she proceeded to write about controversial political subjects. In March 1794, she delivered up an *Ode to the Taking of Toulon*, which portrayed the French Revolution's ideals of liberty and equality. The next year, her *Tammany; or, the Indian Chief* was the highlight of the Broadway season—"a symbol of republicanism" patronized by the hotheads "of New York, to the utter rout of the aristocrats." Another reviewer characterized the behavior of the audience at the first performance as "a riot or a frolic."[56]

America was forging a new identity on all fronts. American intellectuals at the end of the eighteenth century formed the Society for

Political Inquiries, whose purpose was to free the country from the "intellectual imperialism of Europe." The society wanted to "ascertain what there is peculiar and distinguishing in the state of society in the federal union." David Ramsay, Benjamin Rush, and Matthew Carey were counted among its members. The society's statement of purpose reflected the concerns of the time.

> In having effected a separate government, we have as yet accomplished but a partial independence. The revolution can only be said to be compleat, when we shall have freed ourselves, no less from the influence of foreign prejudices than from the letters of foreign powers. When breaking through the bonds, in which a dependent people have been accustomed to think, and act; we shall properly comprehend the character we have assumed and adopt those maxims of policy which are suited to our new situation.[57]

The search for a distinct American character manifested itself in many ways. A twentieth-century European observer of the "American" character, C. G. Jung, believed that "North Americans have maintained the European level with the strictest possible puritanism, yet they could not prevent the souls of their Indian enemies from becoming theirs."[58]

The rhetoric of the Tammany Society illustrated how deftly the native character of America had become interwoven with the immigrants' self-image by the beginning of the nineteenth century. By characterizing Indians solely as "enemies," Jung missed some of the complexity in the ideological equation that gave birth to a new nation in America.

For the new American citizens, Tammany would continue to symbolize a distinctly American identity well into the nineteenth century. On Saint Tammany's Day in 1802, James Carson delivered "An Oration on the Past and Present State of Our Country" to his fellow Tammany brothers in Philadelphia. Despite the simplicity of its historical analysis, Carson's "Oration" showed how closely patriots from the revolutionary and constitutional eras identified with America's native peoples. Carson began with a rather overdrawn portrait of the Indians as "the receptacle of peace, happiness and contentment." The native peoples lived, said Carson, "[f]ree as nature . . . as nature's child, unacquainted with the vicious habits and evil propensities with which Europeans were deeply contaminated."[59]

In Carson's account the natives welcomed the new Americans "with open arms . . . and unbounded hospitality." Even Columbus reciprocated this respect and grieved at the sight of a murdered Indian (using words Carson borrowed from his contemporary, Phillip M. Fre-

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neau).[60] A lust for possession of gold and native souls, however, perverted the European pilgrimage, according to Carson, who displayed a keen sense of the gap between Christian platitude and practice.

> The language of the Cross is, *Do good unto all, defraud not, take naught wrongfully from any man. Be kind, for all are your brethren. Love thy neighbor as thyself.* Yet the Cross was raised. The raisers proffered to venerate its author, but their actions proclaimed to the surrounding world that they were Christians only in *name*. Good God!! What scenes of havoc, destruction and distress did hence ensue [emphasis in original]!![61]

To dismiss Carson's rhetoric as self-serving sentimentality would discount a three-hundred-year tradition of cultural exchange that formed the basis for the belief that Europeans in America became Americans with the help of its native people. The process of Americanization also provided the colonists with a rare chance to begin anew. The "brothers" and "sons" of Tammany knew well that they had not rebelled against England merely to replicate its society and institutions in the New World.

Opposition to "the longest war"—a three-century-old war to dispossess America's original people—seemed to find common cause with the Sons of Saint Tammany in their own struggle against the oppression of Britain. Tammany rhetoric of triumph was celebrated in a litany of symbols from the Iroquois Great Law: the "chain of union"; "the tree of *Liberty*," its roots fed (as Jefferson was fond of saying) by the blood of patriots and tyrants; the buried tomahawk; the brothers—a mixture of European nationalities as well as Indians—together in their "wigwams," holding fast "the chain of brotherly love," "having one *only* end in view, *the good of our country*" [emphasis in the original].[62]

Carson's remarks (made a mere generation before the Cherokee Trail of Tears) stand as an indictment of the divergence between pristine ideology and historical reality. Even during that brutal century of Manifest Destiny, the image of native liberty would continue to provide inspiration to the "half-savage" "hotheads" of America. Their Indian "patron saint"—born of New World flesh, mixed with myth, exported to Europe, remade into the "Noble Savage" by philosophers such as Rousseau, who then exported him back to the land of his birth—embodied the democratic values and nationalism that shaped America's character. The mythic Chief Tammany *was* America for many of them, his very being the synthesis of a new and distinctly American culture.

10

KINDLING A NEW NATIONAL GRAND COUNCIL FIRE

Native American liberty and the United States Constitution

The British Government cannot be our model. We have no materials for a similar one. Our manners, our laws, the abolition of entails and primogeniture, the whole genius of the people are opposed to it.

—James Wilson at the Constitutional Convention, 7 June 1787[1]

We have gone back to ancient history for models of Government, and examined different forms of those Republics which having been formed with the seeds of their own dissolution now no longer exist. And we have viewed Modern States all round Europe, but find none of their Constitutions suitable to our circumstances.

—Benjamin Franklin at the Constitutional Convention, 28 June 1787[2]

As the United States began its second attempt at a viable federal system based on natural rights, native examples continued to exert a powerful influence on this nation of transplanted Europeans. The history of the Sons of Saint Tammany—and the powerful democratic and nationalistic values that the image of native America evoked—demonstrated that the rhetoric and imagery of the Iroquois and their allies (notably the Delawares) were familiar not only to many revolutionary leaders but also to a wide cross section of the American people. The amalgamation of cultures that formed the new nation manifested itself in the rites and rituals of its fraternal orders.

On the eve of the Constitutional Convention, Native Americans and all classes of European-descended peoples mixed easily. Cornplanter's words before the Congress in 1786 and the Iroquois concepts of unity in government were widely reported from Georgia to New England. Indeed, the press in Philadelphia routinely alluded to American Indian images in its editorials about the upcoming Constitutional Convention. In April 1787, a magazine article referred to Iroquois imagery (the bundle of arrows in section 57 of the Iroquois constitution) as it argued for a stronger union in the new instrument of government under consideration at the Constitutional Convention. After discussing the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation, the anonymous author of "Thoughts on the Present Situation of Public Affairs" recalled in fable form the wisdom of Iroquois unity.

> I shall now conclude, after calling to your remembrance the following well[-]known fable: . . . a father, on his deathbed, called together his thirteen sons, and desired a bundle of rods to be brought, which when, according to his orders, they attempted to break, they could not effect. The bundle was then loosened, and the rods, when taken singly were broken with the greatest of ease. The moral of this fable is too well known, to need recitation; nor is it necessary to say much concerning the inferences deducible from it, respecting ourselves. This shall suffice: *United*, we rise superior to the malice of all our enemies; but if divided, distraction, anarchy, and confusion, shall be our undoubted portion [emphasis in original].[3]

This admonition recalled Canassatego's advice on unity to the colonists at the 1744 Lancaster Treaty Council, which Franklin had popularized by printing the sachem's own words. His was one of several early Iroquois pronouncements on the benefits of a union based on the Great Law of the Iroquois. More specifically, this fable recalled Cornplanter's words to the Philadelphia Sons of Saint Tammany meeting in April 1786. As the 1787 magazine article stated, the "bundle of arrows" was a symbol for unity "too well known . . . to need recitation."[4]

Americans of European descent who continued to wrestle with a suitable structure for their national institutions faced a dilemma—they seemed to need a stronger government than that provided by the Articles of Confederation, but a shift too far in the other direction would produce an imitation of the monarchies that they had repudiated. The example of tribal societies thus provided a counterpoint to European governments of the time. The Tuscarora anthropologist, J. N. B. Hewitt, described the conflicting sentiments in this way:

> There are two radically distinct methods of regimentation of people found extant in the world . . . these two methods are known as the tribal system and the national system. The tribal system organizes solely on the basis of blood kinship, real or by legal fiction. The national system organizes solely on the basis of territorial units. So that kinship groups or units are found in tribal society, territorial units in national society.
>
> The family[,] . . . the clan, the tribe, and the confederacy, are always found in tribal society. The concept of law is implicit in all these units.[5]

While the founders recognized the unsuitability of a kinship state for their purposes, they did seek to borrow aspects of Iroquois government—especially those that would enable them to assert the people's sovereignty over vast geographic expanses, since they found no governments in Europe with these characteristics.[6] Certainly many Americans had some familiarity with the Iroquois League. For instance, William Livingston, delegate to the Constitutional Convention from New Jersey, had lived for a year among the Mohawks at the age of fourteen and was quite familiar with the ideas of the Iroquois.[7]

The delegates to the Constitutional Convention arrived in Philadelphia in time for the usual Tammany Day celebration. George Washington, in particular, was welcomed by a Philadelphia publication as the "Great Chief."[8] The Tammany society, however, was not the only influential secret society that used Native American symbols; it was part of a popular movement before and during the constitutional period. The Masonic Order, which also flourished during the late eighteenth century, shared this identification with American Indian symbols in its secret rites and ceremonies. An article published a century ago maintained that

> [i]t has long been claimed that the aborigines of this continent were found the custodians of secret order or orders which in many respects possessed the salient features of Freemasonry. Schoolcraft and others who have spent years with them and in study of their characteristics confirm the claim that at least several of the tribes and nations had some secret rite of this kind when Columbus discovered the continent.[9]

Most of the members of the Constitutional Convention were, in fact, members of the Masonic Order, whose rituals were very similar to the mystical aspects of the "Little Water Society" of the Iroquois. Indeed, Arthur C. Parker argued that both the Iroquois Eagle Dance and the "Little Water Society" shared many characteristics with the rites of Freemasonry. Perhaps this was recognized by some notable Iroquois men at the time, such as Joseph Brant, who was a Mason during the American Revolution.[10]

Although the Articles of Confederation had failed to hold the country together, it left a notable legacy. It was the first attempt by thirteen very diverse colonies of people descended from Europeans to form a functioning state in America based on the principles of "natural rights" —a philosophy whose exemplar was the native peoples with whom the new Americans shared their everyday lives. It was the first attempt to form this kind of government over such a vast territory in the history of the world.

One of the greatest achievements of the Articles of Confederation was the passage of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which outlined procedures for gradual incorporation of the western lands as new states in the nation, as well as those governing relations with the western Indians. The Northwest Ordinance solved a nettlesome problem for James Wilson, one of the first associate justices of the Supreme Court, since he did not believe the eastern states should expand their boundaries. However, American Indian nations were excluded from the process of incorporation and eventual statehood in the westward expansion. In discussing the purchase of western lands from American Indians with Wilson in 1785, Timothy Pickering of Massachusetts was of the opinion that the "emigrants to the frontier lands" might be excluded in this process. They were "the least worthy subjects in the United States," being only a "little less savage than the Indians."[11]

It is generally recognized that Charles Thomson (adopted Delaware and secretary to Congress) was the major author of this critical piece of legislation. While it was under consideration, Thomson went to Philadelphia to consult with his friends and allies at the Constitutional Convention. He was a Pennsylvanian and, of course, maintained close ties with Wilson and Franklin; he also knew most of the other convention delegates who had served previously in the Continental Congress and Confederation government.[12]

The Ordinance contained an extensive Bill of Rights—a distinctly American idea. The Iroquois Great Law of Peace, for example was very sensitive to the rights of individuals and the potential abuses of the state. In contrast, most European governments were still either divine-right monarchies or commercial oligarchies controlled by the middle and upper classes. The Articles of Confederation placed a great deal of emphasis on local rights and autonomy at the expense of such national considerations as defense and the regulation of commerce. But just as the Northwest Ordinance was clearing Congress in July 1787 in New York, the convention meeting in Philadelphia was drafting a blueprint for the government that would soon replace the Articles of Confederation.[13] Perhaps Thomson and others pushed through the passage of the Northwest Ordinance and its Bill of Rights in order to insure citizen debate and input into the new Constitution during the ratification process.

The size of the thirteen states and the potential for westward expansion were important considerations for the delegates to the Constitutional Convention. For various reasons, the delegates rejected ancient and modern European models. In fact, a few years earlier, European scholars such as the Marquis de Chastellux had also reflected on American independence and hoped that people would not look to the "old maxims of the Greeks and Romans . . . but follow the wise counsels" of Franklin, the Adamses, and the Schuylers.[14] Charles Pinckney of South Carolina described this dilemma in 1788.

> From the European world no precedents are to be drawn for a people who think they are capable of governing themselves. . . . Much difficulty was expected from the extent of country to be governed. All the republics we read of, either in the ancient or modern world, have been extremely limited in territory—we know of none a tenth so large as the United States. Indeed, we are hardly able to determine . . . whether the governments we have heard of under the name of republic really deserved them, or whether the ancients had any just or proper ideas on the subject.[15]

So, Pinckney advocated a government that was inspired by local models—in particular, the Albany Plan. Using some of the same terminology, the Pinckney Plan proposed a unified government that also reflected the concepts of the Iroquois Confederacy. He believed that his plan and the eventual constructs of the Constitution bore no relation to European principles. Wilson's notations on the Pinckney Plan (made as he referred to it while drafting the Constitution) contained concepts that echoed provisions of the Iroquois Great Law.

> 1. A Confederation between the free and independent States . . . is hereby solemnly made uniting them together under a general . . . government for their common benefit and for . . . Defenses and Security against all designs and Leagues that may be [injurious] to their interests.

> ……
>
> 23. The assent of the Legislature of ______ States shall . . . bind the whole confederacy . . .
>
> 24. The Articles of Confederation shall be . . . observed and the Union shall be perpetual.[16]

Pinckney's belief that the American people and their government were created in a unique environment distant from European concepts was shared by other South Carolinians, including David Ramsay. Ramsay had been president of Congress on 2 May 1786, when Cornplanter spoke on Iroquois unity, and during ratification he argued that the American union was a kinship state.

> When thirteen persons constitute a family, each should forego everything that is injurious to the other twelve. When several families constitute a parish or county, each may adopt what regulations it pleases with regard to its domestic affairs, but must be abridged of that liberty in other cases, where the good of the whole is concerned.
>
> When several parishes, counties or districts form a state, the separate interests of each must yield to the collective interest of the whole. When several states combine in one government, the same principles must be observed. These relinquishments of natural rights, are not real sacrifices; each person, county, or state, gains more than it loses, for it only gives up the right of injuring others, and obtains in return aid and strength to secure itself in the peaceful enjoyment of all remaining rights.[17]

Ramsay and other influential intellectuals of the time led a movement to develop an American character that was distinct from Europe's. Since they believed that few European ideas were really applicable to the American environment, it was only logical that these thinkers turned to their "native" roots for inspiration. South Carolina was one of the most informed states on American Indian affairs, so it was not surprising that its delegates entertained Native American ideas at the Constitutional Convention.

On 20 May 1787, George Mason (Virginia delegate to the convention) observed that the "most prevalent idea" at the convention was the creation of "a great National Council." Mason also stated that there were "some very eccentric opinions upon this subject" among the delegates.[18] A few weeks later, he reported that the idea of a "legislative, a judiciary" and "an executive" branch combined in a "Great National Council" was "still the prevalent one."[19] These statements occurred within the ideological context of John Adams's *Defence of the*

Constitutions . . . of the United States, an influential three-volume "handbook" to which convention delegates referred on the floor and which will be discussed in greater detail later. This contextual guide to the ideas that spawned the Constitution mentioned European attempts at federated republican government based on conceptions of natural rights, as well as such precedents in Native America.[20]

The United States Constitution, as it was eventually ratified, would create executive, judicial, and legislative branches as well as augment the powers of the central government after considering many conflicting proposals. The Virginia Plan (of Madison and others) essentially proposed that the Articles of Confederation be turned inside out (critical powers were to be given to the federal government rather than to the states). The New Jersey Plan (a revised version of the Articles of Confederation) was supported only by the New York, New Jersey, and Delaware delegations and was easily voted down. There was wrangling to achieve compromise on the issue of representation in the legislature, which resulted in the proposal for a bicameral legislature (Senate and House) to solve the problems of proportional and state representation. After agreement was reached on a framework for this issue, the main battle between northern and southern delegations began over whether and how to count slaves for the purpose of representation in Congress; the result was the Three-fifths Compromise.

During the debate about the fundamental nature of the Union, many of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention appeared to agree with James Wilson's statement on 1 June 1787, that he would not be "governed by the British model which was inapplicable to . . . this country." Wilson believed that America's size was so great, and its ideals so "republican, that nothing but a great confederated republic would do for it."[21] Such a reference to Iroquois rhetoric and imagery was common; another example from that time was a poem that used Native American imagery, which appeared in a Philadelphia magazine and was openly addressed to the members of the Constitutional Convention.

To bid contending states their discord cease;
To send through all the calumet of peace.[22]

On 8 June 1787, Wilson (according to James Madison's notes) used an interesting argument about unity that surely must have harkened back to his experiences with the Iroquois at Fort Pitt in 1775.

> Among the first sentiments expressed in the first Congress, one was that Virginia was no more, that Massachusetts was no more, that Penn-

> sylvania is no more. . . . [W]e are now one nation of brethren. We must bury all local distinctions. This language continued for some time [n.b. Madison's sentence about "language" shows that he probably cut off note-taking of Iroquois rhetoric here, since it was so well known]. The tables at length began to turn. No sooner were the state governments formed than their jealousy and ambition began to display themselves . . . till at length the confederation became frittered down to the impotent condition in which it now stands. Review the progress of the articles of confederation thro' Congress and compare the first and last draught of it. To correct its vices is the business of this convention. One of its vices is the want of an effective control in the whole over the parts.[23]

As we shall see later, this instance was just one of several that demonstrated the presence of Iroquois ideas among the consensus-seeking brethren in Philadelphia during the summer of 1787.

At about the same time, another historic meeting was taking place in western Virginia. A large delegation of Iroquois, Shawnees, and Creeks united in "the Great Council of the Americans" (as they characterized their own polity). They described their relationship in the following way on 30 June 1787:

> We take a strong hold, with both hands, at the end of the great wampum of union. Let the other end also be fast held by those near the Great Water . . . and by all the Red People . . . whereby we shall form a strong chain of defense.[24]

Certainly, the founders had reason to fear a strong and unified American Indian confederacy should they fail in their own attempts to implement a government that secured unity.

In July 1787 *American Museum* (a Philadelphia magazine read by most of the members of the Constitutional Convention) republished an article of Franklin's entitled "The Origin of Tobacco," which ridiculed European cultural and religious arrogance. Franklin related the story of a Susquehanna Indian and a Swedish minister who exchange accounts of the natures of their respective religions. The Swedish minister scoffed at the Indian's account and called it "fable, fiction, a falsehood'; the Christian version was, of course, "sacred." In replying to the rude minister, the offended Indian wanted to know, since the Christians were willing to lend credence to European stories, "Why then do you refuse to believe ours?"[25]

This account had been extracted from Franklin's *Remarks Concerning the Savages of North America*, 1783, which was written just four years before the Constitutional Convention, while he was in France. These

Remarks provide a great deal of insight into Franklin's knowledge of American Indian polity. Although he quoted anecdotes and discussed matters relating to the Delawares and Susquehannas, when he turned to the question of diplomacy and political structure of American Indians, he focused on the Iroquois. He referred specifically to the "Chiefs of the Six Nations" and their methods for training their men for war and government, as well as a general discourse on Iroquois "public Councils." In discussing the Iroquois government, he asserted,

> Having frequent Occasions to hold public Councils, they have acquired great Order and Decency in conducting them. The old Men sit in the foremost ranks, the Warriors in the next, and the Women and Children in the hindmost. The business of the Women is to take exact notice of what passes, imprint it in their Memories, for they have no Writing, and communicate it to their children. They are the Records of the Council, and they preserve the Stipulations in Treaties a hundred Years back, which when we compare with our Writings we always find exact. He that would speak rises. The rest observe a profound Silence. When he has finished and sits down, they leave him for five or six Minutes to recollect, that if he has omitted anything . . . he may rise again and deliver it. . . . How different this is from the Conduct of a polite British House of Commons, where scarce a Day passes without some Confusion that makes the Speaker hoarse in calling to order.[26]

The ideas of American Indians regarding freedom of expression and human rights were often present in the founders' minds. In the formative years of the United States, the use of Iroquois ideas and phrases was common, and relations with Indians, in general, were often based on equality and mutual respect. At the Treaty of Hopewell in 1785, for example, the Congress actually invited the Cherokees "to send a deputy of their choice . . . to Congress."[27] Political discussion was often couched in Native American terms, pseudonyms, or "fables." The synthesis of Native American and European ideas was clearly demonstrated in the activities of the Tammany society, many of whose members were political leaders of the time. The editorial policy of the *American Museum* also recognized and reflected the intercultural exchange that was a crucial part of nation building.

At this point it would be beneficial to return to the contribution made by John Adams on the eve of the Constitutional Convention. Although Adams had been selected as a Massachusetts delegate to the Constitutional Convention, he chose not to attend and published his lengthy essay, *Defence of the Constitutions of . . . the United States*, instead. (See figure 36.) His grandson pointed out that *Defence* "was much circulated in the convention, and undoubtedly contributed somewhat to give a favorable direction to the opinion of the members." On 6 June 1787, Madison, while reporting on the opening of the Constitutional Convention to Jefferson, wrote that "Mr. Adams' Book . . . has excited a good deal of attention." Madison believed that *Defence* would be read and "praised, and become a powerful engine in forming the public opinion."[28]

The *Defence* was a critical survey of world governments, which included a description of the Iroquois and other Native American governments in its analysis. In the preface, Adams mentioned the Inca, Manco Capac, and the political structure "of the Peruvians." He also noted that tribes in "North America have certain families from which their leaders are always chosen."[29] He believed that American Indian governments collected their authority in one center (a simple or unicameral model), and he also observed that, in matters of government, "the people" believed that "all depended on them."[30] Later in the preface, Adams expressed the opinion that Franklin, the French philosophers of the Enlightenment, and other "great philosophers and politicians of the age" were attempting to "set up governments of . . . modern Indians."[31]

According to Adams, the French philosopher Turgot shared Franklin's belief that the new American constitutions were "an unreasonable imitation of the usages of England."[32] Their main objection centered on the perpetuation of bicameral legislatures in most American state governments; they reserved their praise for the unicameral legislature created by the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776. This state constitution also provided for a "Council of Censors," which functioned similarly to the Council of Elders of the Iroquois. The council's duties included inquiring as to whether the constitution was "preserved inviolate . . . and whether the legislative and executive branches" had discharged their duty "as guardians of the people." The Pennsylvania Constitution, again recalling the Iroquois League, required that the "doors of the . . . general assembly, shall be and remain open for the admission of all persons who behave decently."[33]

Adams implied that Turgot's preference for the Pennsylvania constitution was the result of conversations with Franklin, who more than likely favored unicameral legislatures because of his experiences in Pennsylvania and his exposure to the ideas of the Iroquois. The Iroquois governmental system certainly helped reinforce Franklin's belief (similar to the sentiments expressed by Thomas Paine and Jefferson) that the best government governed least—and with the simplest bureaucratic machinery.[34]

Adams, an ardent believer in the fundamentals of the British Con-

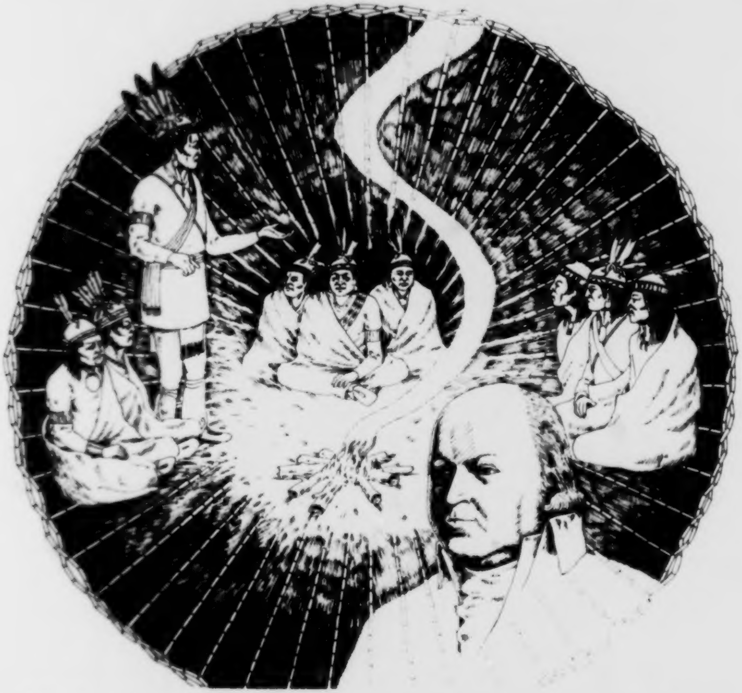


FIGURE 36. In his *Defence of the Constitution . . .*, John Adams discussed the Iroquois political system. By John Kahionhes Fadden.

stitution, opposed Franklin's intimation that the new government should resemble either the ancient German models or the native confederacies of "modern Indians." But he did believe it would be productive to have "a more accurate investigation of the form of governments of the . . . Indians." In addition, he argued that it would be "well worth the pains . . . to collect . . . the legislation of the Indians" for study while creating a new constitution, because the League of the Iroquois was the best example of the governmental separation of powers available to Americans for direct observation. In fact, the separation of powers in American Indian governments was "marked with a precision that excludes all controversy,"[35] since "the three powers" of government were "strong in every tribe."[36]

Adams was familiar with the opinions of Richard Price, the radical British thinker, who had received a letter from Turgot in 1778 on the nature of American constitutions.[37] Price believed that Americans had established forms of "government more equitable and more liberal than any the world has yet known."[38] Indeed, Adams shared this conviction and pointed out that American Indian governments were so democratic that the "real sovereignty resided in the body of the people."[39] Personal liberty was so important to them that Mohawks might be characterized as having "complete individual independence."[40]

While discussing the Mohawks, Adams referred to "fifty families governed by all authority in one centre." This statement reflected the extent of his knowledge of the structure of the Iroquois Confederacy. In fact, he noted (rather casually) the same number of Iroquois sachemships as were delineated by Lewis Henry Morgan, pioneer ethnographer of the League, more than sixty years later. Adams's insight indicates that the founders knew a great deal more about the Iroquois governance system than has previously been acknowledged, and the fact that Morgan arrived at similar conclusions without reference to the founders' observations provides independent verification of such knowledge. However, agreement on the extent of Adams's understanding of the nature of Iroquois government is less important than recognizing the profound intellectual connections between Native Americans and the founders. Essentially, his insights into Indian governments were really personal and cultural manifestations of a lengthy and sustained dialogue between Euro-Americans and Native Americans.[41]

Adams's knowledge of Iroquois and other American Indian confederacies extended to their sachemship system, which was also described in Morgan's later work. Adams wrote that a sachem was elected for life and had an "ordinary council" composed of lesser sachems. In this ordinary council, all "national affairs" were "deliberated and resolved" (except for declarations of war, which were only issued by "a national assembly round a great council fire"). At this council, the sachems would "communicate to the people their resolution, and sacrifice an animal" (no doubt a reference to the "white dog ceremony" of the Iroquois also described by Morgan more than six decades after Adams). The people who had approved the war would then "throw the hatchet into a tree" and "join in the subsequent war songs and dances." Adams understood the voluntary nature of Iroquois warfare when he noted that those who disapproved of the decision to go to war took "no part in the [animal] sacrifice, but retire[d]."[42]

Adams was critical of European thinkers such as Turgot, John Locke, and David Hume, whose theories of government were too abstract and did not reflect an understanding of tribal societies and republican governments.[43] Adams, for instance, regarded American Indian governments as a window to the premonarchal past of Europeans. He and other founders looked to American Indian ideas about government because they believed that native societies possessed the remnants of a democratic heritage largely lost to European society. Firsthand knowledge of American Indian governments helped Adams clarify his positions in the debates surrounding the emerging republicanism of the eighteenth century.

Adams's *Defence* was clearly not an unabashed endorsement of native models for government. In the main, it was a refutation of the arguments of Franklin and Turgot, who advocated a one-house legislature resembling the Iroquois Grand Council, the model for both the Albany Plan and the Articles of Confederation. Adams did not trust the consensus model, although it seemed to work for the Iroquois. He felt that without the checks and balances built into two houses, the Euro-American variant would succumb to special interests and dissolve into anarchy or despotism. Whereas Franklin wrote about Indian governments in a much more benign way, Adams was quite critical of the Mohawks' independence.

> Is it not sublime wisdom [according to the Iroquois system], to rush headlong into all the distraction and divisions . . . which are the certain consequence of the want of order and balances, merely for the sake of the popular caprice of having fifty families governed by all authority in one centre? Even this would not satisfy; the fifty families would soon dissolve their union, and nothing would ever content them short of the complete individual independence of the Mohawks; for it may be depended on, that individual independence is what every unthinking human heart aims at, nearly or remotely.[44]

Adams sought to impose checks on the caprice of the unthinking heart and cited the Iroquois Grand Council (the fifty families) as a negative example (ignoring the fact, as Franklin wrote to Arthur Parker in 1751, that it had "subsisted ages"). Franklin was more of a utopian; he envisioned a government based upon the best in human nature and called upon its citizens to rise to its level. He did not fear unrestrained freedom as did Adams. During the Constitutional Convention, Franklin (according to Madison's notes) argued that the delegates should "not depress the virtue" and "public spirit of our common people. . . . He did not think the elected had any right in any case to narrow the privileges of the electors."[45] The "common people" and their elected representatives, having tasted revolution and life under the Articles of Confederation for the better part of a decade, seemed ready, however, to agree with Adams, whose advocacy of two houses ultimately prevailed over Franklin's unicameral model. Still, the example of native liberty exerted a strong influence on the national soul, and conceptions of Native America played an important role in these debates. The fact that Adams repeatedly called upon native imagery to oppose the setting up of a "government of modern Indians" was further proof of how widely these ideas were discussed. Since the *Defence* was "much circulated" at the Constitutional Convention, it seems likely that his portrayal of the political crosscurrents was an accurate reflection of the thinking of the era.[46]

Given the nature of Adams's *Defence*, there can be no doubt that Native American governmental structures and ideas were part of the process of constitution-making. Even though Adams and Jefferson disagreed fundamentally about the nature of government, both used American Indian ideas and customs to support their divergent points of view. Both men were in agreement over the source of distinctly American ideas, even though they interpreted that source very differently. In the end, it is significant that American Indian ideas and political structures, as perceived by Adams and Jefferson, were used to construct a uniquely American political system.

The issue of property, and whether government should be constituted to protect it, was a major issue of debate at the Constitutional Convention as it had been during the Revolution. Jefferson had substituted "happiness" for the Lockean natural right to "property" in the Declaration of Independence and pointed to the example of the propertyless and happy Native Americans in his letter to Edward Carrington in January 1787. Six months later at the Convention, an image of Native America was again invoked—this time by Gouverneur Morris, who used this inaccurate assumption to bolster the following argument: "Men do not enter into Society to protect their Lives or Liberty—the

Savages possess both in perfection—they unite in Society for the Protection of Property."[47]

This remark came as the delegates debated the issue of representation—specifically whether a numerical ratio of one representative for every forty thousand inhabitants was equitable. This debate was later resolved by the establishment of a House of Representatives based on population and a Senate with an equal number of seats for each state. Morris, a staunch supporter of the right to property (and the rights of the propertied), feared that if population were to be the sole criterion, the poor of the future western states would ultimately "destroy or oppress the Atlantic States."[48] He favored representation based on the amount of taxes paid. Of course, he lost in this debate.

On 8 August, Morris again cited a native example in a negative manner during his speech in support of a proposal to require a fourteen-year period of citizenship before one could be elected to the United States Senate.

> The Indians are the most liberal of any People, because when Strangers come amongst them, they offer their wives and daughters for their carnal amusement. It is recommended that we open our Doors, and invite the oppressed of all Nations to come [and] find asylum in America. It is true we have invited them to come [and] worship in our Temple, but we have never proposed that they should become Priests at our Altars.[49]

Morris showed his profound ignorance of gender equity among most native peoples, while giving credit to their very real generosity, which was referred to earlier. Morris certainly would have been surprised had he realized that native women often acted as intelligence agents for their nations, rather than as their husbands' "gifts" to strangers.

Near the end of the debates, Franklin made the following impassioned plea for unity and pragmatic compromise:

> I confess that there are several parts of this Constitution which I do not at present approve . . . but . . . the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment, and to more respect the judgment of others. . . . I doubt whether any Convention we can obtain may be able to make a better Constitution . . . so near to perfection as it does; and I think it will astonish our enemies who are waiting with confidence to hear that our councils are confounded like those of the Builders of Babel; and that our States are on the point of separation, only to meet for the purpose of one another's throats.[50]

And Franklin could have been recalling the December 1776 "rising sun" speech of an Iroquois sachem when he confidently told the delegates:

> I have . . . looked at that [chair] behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting: But now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun.[51]

Throughout the nation-building process, Franklin consistently stressed unity as a fundamental concept for any form of government. No matter how old he got or how many revisions his Albany Plan of Union underwent, he never forgot the Iroquois roots of the United States Constitution. On 30 June 1787, while the Constitutional Convention met in an attempt to resolve the bitter dispute on proportional representation, he wrote to Indian leaders using direct references to the "Great Spirit" and the council fire of the American government.[52]

> I am sorry that the Great Council fire of our Nation is not now burning, so that you cannot do your business there. In a few months, the coals will be rak'd out of the ashes and will again be rekindled. Our wise men will then take the complaints of your nation into consideration.[53]

The following month, another noted Pennsylvanian, Dr. Benjamin Rush, published a letter stating that "legislators astonishing the world with their wisdom and virtue" were meeting at Independence Hall "where had been seen an Indian council fire."[54]

In August the bundle of arrows imagery from the Iroquois Constitution was once again recalled in an article published in a Philadelphia magazine, which was very similar to the one published earlier in April, just before the Constitutional Convention. In fable form, the editor recommended "unanimity" to the delegates assembled to write a federal constitution. This fable mentioned neither ancient nor modern European states as a model.

A careful sire, of old, who found
Death coming, call'd his sons around.
They heard with reverence what he spake,
Here, try this bunch of sticks to break.

They took the bundle: ev'ry swain
Endeavour'd but the task was vain.
"Observe," the dying father cry'd;
And took the sticks himself and try'd;

When separated, lo! how quick
He breaks asunder ev'ry stick
"Learn my dear boys, by this example,
So strong, so pertinent, so ample,

That Union *saves you all from ruin,*
But to divide is your undoing:

For if you take them one by one,
See, with what ease the task is done!
Singly, how quickly broke in twain,
How form the aggregate Thirteen!"

Is not the tale, Columbians, clear?
What application needs there here?
This motto to your hearts apply,
Ye Senators, Unite or Die [emphasis in original].[55]

Iroquois concepts of government were used by James Wilson to describe the course of debate at the Constitutional Convention regarding "another difficulty in the business of the Federal convention."

> It is the opinion of some celebrated writers, that to a small territory the democratical, to a middling territory (as Montesquieu has termed it) the monarchial, and to an extensive territory the despotic form of government is best adapted. Regarding then, the wide and almost unbounded jurisdiction of the United States, at first view the hand of despotism seemed necessary to control, connect and protect it; and hence the chief embarrassment arose. For we knew that, although our constituents would cheerfully submit to legislative restraints of a free government, they would spurn at every attempt to shackle them with despotic power.
>
> In this dilemma, a Federal Republic naturally presented itself . . . as a species of government which secured all the internal advantages of a republic, at the same time that it maintained the external dignity and force of a monarchy.[56]

As a Pennsylvanian, Wilson was aware of the influence of Iroquois imagery and its use by the Sons of Saint Tammany (or Columbians, as they are referred to in the preceding poem). Wilson was a good friend of Franklin's and read Franklin's speeches to the convention, as it was "inconvenient for the Doctor to remain long on his feet."[57] Therefore, it was not surprising that Wilson would explain that "the most important obstacle to the proceedings of the Federal Convention" was encountered in drawing the "line between the national and the individual governments of the states." However, he found that the sentiments of both the convention and the American people on this issue were "expressed in the motto some of them" had adopted, "Unite or die"—one of the mottoes of the Tammany society.[58]

Wilson also used Iroquois imagery to explain the process of territorial expansion and the establishment of new states. He did not support the further westward expansion of the eastern states' boundaries but instead favored the creation of new, semi-independent states. He believed that in order to have the respect of western settlers, the new government officers should be

> chosen by the people to fill the places of greatest trust and importance in the country; and by this means, *a chain of communication and confidence* will be formed between the United States and the new settlements.
>
> *To preserve and strengthen this chain* it will, I apprehend, be expedient for Congress to appoint a minister for the new settlements and Indian Affairs [emphasis added].[59]

On 26 July 1787, the Constitutional Convention adjourned for ten days while a Committee of Detail—John Rutledge of South Carolina, chairman; Edmund Randolph of Virginia; Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts; Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut; and Wilson of Pennsylvania—met (sometimes at Independence Hall or at Wilson's house, and once at the Indian Queen Tavern) to "arrange and systematize the materials [that] the convention had collected."[60] At the beginning of the committee's deliberations, Rutledge supposedly read aloud some Iroquois advice regarding the will of "the people"; according to his biographer, he had been impressed with the government of the Iroquois from the time of the Stamp Act Congress.[61]

An examination of Wilson's "Notes on Drafting a Constitution" reveals that a great deal of committee discussion revolved "on the original authority of the people." These notes reflect the delegates' uncertainty about "what the sense of the people" was and how long it had existed "in an improper manner . . . and from improper sources." (See figure 37.) However, Wilson noted that the committee meant to discuss "the different points in question—"

1. on principle.
2. by the Ind[ian] sense of the States in Common.
3. By some striking instance which may happen if the plan be adopted.[62]

An essay in the April 1788 issue of the *Columbian Herald*, titled "The New Roof," styled Wilson as an architect who was now adding rafters to the national house. The article used the same language as that found in section 6 of the Iroquois Great Law, which provided for amendments. It observed that in forming the Constitution, the founders had

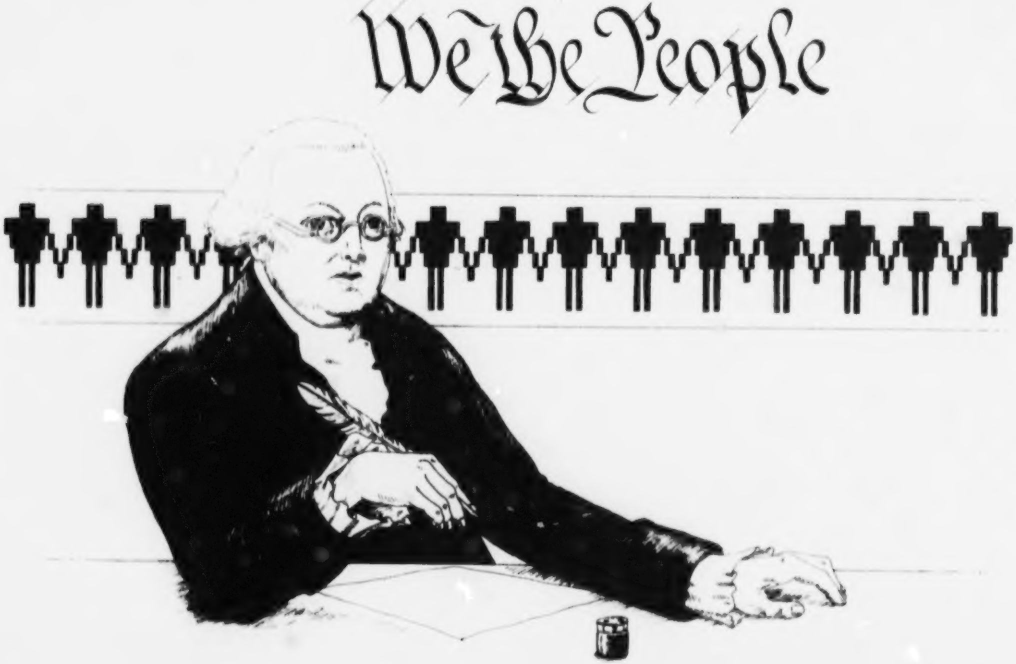


FIGURE 37. James Wilson argued that the British model could not be applied to the United States. By John Kahionhes Fadden.

"consulted the most celebrated authors in ancient and modern architecture and brought into the plan the most approved parts . . . selected from the models before them."[63]

Wilson served on many Indian committees in the Continental Congress and had met with the Iroquois on several occasions, and he seems to have been impressed by Iroquois ways concerning the rights of the people and territorial expansion.[64] In using covenant chain imagery, he also echoed the rhetoric of Iroquois and American diplomacy. The use of chain imagery as a model to unite the vast United States was picked up by the *American Museum*. In December 1787 it published a poem that contained the following lines:

In federal laws connect the wide domain,
And bind the Union with a deathless chain.[65]

In 1788, an editorial on the Constitution, which appeared in South Carolina, also recalled the "unite or die" motto and urged the people to be "of one heart and mind."[66] The *Columbian Magazine* (one of the foremost magazines of the day) published an article in November on Canassatego's version of the origin of the Iroquois Confederacy.[67] Clearly, Iroquois concepts and rhetoric were prevalent in the American press at the time of ratification.

In early 1789 the *American Museum* featured an article that called attention to the similarities between Franklin's Albany Plan of Union and the new Constitution. The article said that the Albany Plan of 1754 had a "strong . . . resemblance to the present system" and further argued that an examination of the similarities between the two documents would "convince the wavering" that "the new constitution" was "not the fabrication of the moment." The essay asserted that Franklin had never lost sight of his favorite system of government, and now he had "lived to see it accomplished." After this article, the magazine's publisher, Matthew Carey, launched a three-part series entitled "Albany Papers with Notes by Franklin," which explored the evolution of American government from the Albany Plan to the framing of the Constitution.[68]

The *American Museum* also carried several essays on American Indian manners and customs during this time. In August 1787, during the writing of the Constitution, the magazine referred to the Iroquois as "sires" and utilized the bundle of arrows imagery of the Great Law of the Iroquois as a metaphor for union. By 1789, the editor focused on the obvious relationships between Iroquois ideas and the new government, which had been a part of the folk tradition of the American Revolution. The founders, the members of the Sons of Saint Tammany, and the American people at the time of ratification were well aware of the Native American roots of American government.[69] When ratification was in its last stages, the *American Museum* reprinted the major speech by the Americans to the Iroquois at the Albany conference in the summer of 1775. The reprinted speech contained the "tree of peace" imagery and many other familiar references.[70]

Another obvious reference to Native American political imagery that appeared in the monthly was a poem entitled "Character of St. Tammany," which idolized the old Delaware chief who wanted to "live in freedom or with honor die." The *American Museum*'s list of subscribers included just about every major political figure of the era (Washington, Madison, Jefferson, and Franklin, to name just a few), so it had an enormous impact. The clustering of the Albany Plan, the Albany conference of 1775, and a poem on Saint Tammany during ratification was deliberate. It sent a clear message to the American people about the nature of American government and its origins.[71] In a very real sense, the articles on the Albany Plan and the items on American Indian customs printed in the *American Museum* and the *Columbian Magazine* in 1788 and 1789 should be considered Franklin's "Federalist Papers."

While Franklin was known to be a member of the Sons of Saint Tammany, and Washington attended meetings, the Tammany society held reservations about the implementation of the new Constitution. During ratification, an editorial under the pseudonym of "Tamony" was published in several Virginia and Pennsylvania newspapers, which reflected the society's populist political philosophy—a strong legislature and weak executive, except in times of war. In particular, the society feared that the new executive might have peacetime powers akin to the British Crown and would, therefore, abridge the basic rights and freedom of expression for which they had so recently fought.[72] In *Federalist No. 69,* Hamilton sought to explain the powers of the executive in terms that would eliminate some of the concerns raised by Tammany members.[73]

A dramatic example of the relationship of Iroquois symbolism to the United States Constitution occurred in 1790 at a Tammany meeting in New York City. President George Washington wanted to negotiate a favorable treaty with the Creek Nation, so he had asked the New York branch of the Sons of Saint Tammany to escort and entertain the Creek leaders when they visited New York City in July and August. Washington was aware of the favorable impression that the Tammany society of Philadelphia had made on Cornplanter and other Senecas during their visit in 1786, and he asked the New York branch of the society to conduct a similar welcoming ceremony for Alexander M'Gillvray and his chiefs.

On 21 July 1790, the visiting Creeks were escorted throughout the streets of the city by three officers of "The Society of Saint Tammany, in their proper dresses." The speeches during this visit used a great deal of Tammany rhetoric, even referring to the Iroquois as the society's "grandfathers" (which the Creeks seemed to like).[74] Toasts were made to a "strong and perpetual chain of friendship between the United States, and the Creek Nation" and to the "Oblivion of all prejudices and resentments."[75] Certainly, the speeches and toasts of the Sons of Saint Tammany during this occasion clearly indicated the pervasiveness of Native American—especially Iroquois—ideas and symbols in American politics at the time. Washington had attended Tammany meetings for years and was familiar with the fact that Tammany societies from Georgia to Rhode Island now referred to the new Constitution as the "New Fire which we have kindled in peace."[76]

At a remarkable banquet on 2 August 1790, the Sons of Saint Tammany acknowledged the country's debt to the Iroquois for providing notions of unity and federalism to the founders. This banquet was attended by many prominent members of the Tammany society—Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court John Jay, and Secretary of War Henry Knox—along with the Creeks. The assembled members and guests were reminded that the society had been established in order to "cherish—to spread abroad, and to maintain the love of freedom." According to tradition, their two great leaders, Tammany and Columbus, directed the society in all of its proceedings from "a world of the spirits in great harmony." The Tammany sachems pointed out that M'Gillvray was both European and Indian; therefore, both they and the Creeks were "altogether children of one father."[77]

The scribe of the Tammany Council continued,

> Our institution, erected on the basis of natural freedom, records, in its formation, the noblest sentiments . . . *public virtue and political friendship*; men actuated by a sameness of principle, become our brethren, and we embrace them as friends.
>
> [I] present to you our public *constitution*. In it you will behold the strong features of political freedom, and that a sacred regard for the rights of human nature originated in our institution . . . let these [principles] prove a *covenant chain* between us, the brightness of whose links will never know rust. . . . Let us take hold of it, and, as we are all children of the same soil, let one tree of peace shelter us with its branches of union.[78]

In discussing the synthesis of American Indian and European cultures, the Tammany society asserted that the Constitution had "a sacred regard for the rights of human nature" and was a "tree of peace" that sheltered them "with its branches of union."[79] After this speech, hands were shaken, patriotic songs were sung, and the Creeks danced. Several toasts were offered to "Washington—the beloved sachem of the 13 fires" and to universal peace and happiness. All were reminded that the "Tammanical Chain extended thro' the Creek Nations and round the whole earth."[80]

Thus, in the presence of Jefferson and many other dignitaries, the debt to Iroquois political theory was acknowledged by the Tammany society during the final stages of the Constitution's ratification. Americans not only had forged a new identity but also a new political structure that was a synthesis of the European and the Native American worlds. Indeed, Washington remarked that "the citizens" were "animated with the hope of transmitting to posterity the spirit of a free constitution in its native purity."[81] The grand equation, our Constitution, was a product of the American and European experience.

In 1792 the Tammany society participated in the nearly year-long, tricentennial celebration of Columbus's arrival in America. On 17 March, bells rang in Philadelphia to mark the arrival of forty-seven "chiefs and warriors of the Seneca Nation of Indians," who "came from the northward" and landed at the Market Street wharf. They were escorted to Eller's Hotel by a detachment of light infantry, to the booming of cannon, where the governor of the state met with them.[82]

On 12 October 1792, the Columbian tricentennial celebration peaked in New York City. As had become their custom, Tammany members remembered the occasion by retelling many of Franklin's anecdotes about Indians. The society also used this occasion to advertise its political platform, which included the abolishment of prison sentences for debtors and provisions for a continuous review of the Constitution. The society advocated making America an "asylum for the oppressed of all nations and religions." In keeping with its belief that all human beings should "assume the native rights and privileges" of an "American freeman," Tammany pledged that the ensuing one hundred years would be the "last Columbian century" in which anyone would be held as a slave in any nation. The society questioned the assumptions that lay behind slavery (and racism in general), contending that Indians were their "equal brothers." Along the same lines, Tammany members sought to expand the scope of suffrage and "subversion to monarchy." The platform echoed the concepts of Jefferson, Paine, and others who spread their political convictions after the American Revolution in an attempt to foment "a world republic."[83]

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Sons of Saint Tammany kept alive the idea that America was a synthesis of European and American Indian ideas. Gradually, other societies evolved that perpetuated this concept, one of which was the Improved Order of Red Men, a fraternal society that also traced its roots back to the Sons of Liberty. The organization's description of its origins formally stated that American democracy had its roots in Native America.

> The early patriots who founded the old Sons of Liberty in colonial times, never knew what real American liberty was. . . . Their first vision of real freedom was caught from the wild savages, who . . . selected their own Sachems and forms of religious worship; and who made their own laws . . . while white men . . . were continually . . . hampered by unreasonable laws and regulations, imposed by a distant king. . . . They began to chafe under their thralldom, which finally resulted in the "Boston Tea Party," the Declaration of Independence, and the War of the Revolution.
>
> The children of the forest . . . furnished the first inspiration of true liberty. . . . [Thus] it was but natural that the name of the old Sons of Liberty should be changed . . . thereby giving honor to whom honor was due, hence—"The Improved Order of Red Men."[84]

American Indian concepts of freedom and democracy were crucial to the formation of a new American identity. The evolution of an American identity that synthesized Native American and European cultures led to a synthesis of political concepts as well. The founders acknowledged this debt in a variety of ways. James Wilson and Charles Pinckney believed that the Old World had not provided adequate governmental precedents for a free and democratic people, so they emphasized New World precedents. Others such as John Adams saw the need for a more balanced synthesis of Native American principles and the British constitution. In the final analysis, Tammany Day and the activities of the Sons of Saint Tammany were an accurate reflection of the debt that Euro-Americans owed to Native American cultures.

However, members of another school of thought during this time, the neoclassicists, overlaid American democracy with a Greek and Roman theme. This was an obvious attempt to give the new republic an image of stability and antiquity despite the observations by many of its founders—Pinckney, Franklin, and others—that such ancient governments were not applicable to the American experience. In this context, it is interesting to note that recent research by Martin Bernal has refuted the racist assumptions about the exclusive European origins of ancient Greek culture. Bernal argues that aspects of Greek culture can be attributed to African and Asian antecedents as well as European sources.

He has contended that, in the last two centuries, scholars have fabricated a Greek culture based solely on European roots in order to bolster their conviction that European culture is not related to and stands "above" African and Asian societies.[85] It would appear that in their haste to "legitimize" the new American government of 1787, the "opinion leaders" of the time not only drew a neoclassical "veil" across their Native American heritage, but they ignored the African and Asian roots of European society as well.

The new republic owed a substantial debt to its Native American heritage—for its distinctive American identity, for the concept of federalism, for the practice of state legislatures appointing senators, and for providing a model for unity without imperialism across a vast geographic expanse. The manner in which this debt has been repaid was referred to in a 1789 article about ancient Indian burial mounds. Commenting on the "former strength of the aborigines" in the Ohio River valley, the author stated that

> if we and our fathers, desire to conceal our shame from posterity, history must draw a veil over the conduct of foreigners towards their tawny brethren.[86]

Through a study of the Sons of Saint Tammany and a careful reading of interactions with Native Americans, Americans can regain an understanding of North American roots.[87] Certainly, the evidence that America is a synthesis of Native America and Europe can be found in the works of Adams and in the philosophy of the Tammany society. Early historians of the American Revolution such as David Ramsay and Mercy Otis Warren believed that Americans had a distinctive national character that was linked to their environment. Indeed, Warren asserted that the environment of America enforced a natural equality among its inhabitants, because the state of civilization in the colonies did not allow the development of great wealth and power. She coupled this analysis with the realization that American frontiersmen had "the habits of savages, and appear scarce a grade above" them. Warren feared westward expansion, because she felt it would destroy the happy balance in America between the state of nature and the overrefined civilization in the states of the eastern seaboard.[88]

Two generations ago, Carl Van Doren and Julian Boyd summed up the appeal of the Iroquois Confederacy to the colonists in this way:

> From family, to council to town, to tribe to confederacy and down again there were regular steps in the chain of administration. . . . Their confederacy was but a League of ragged villages, as Franklin said of it, but it worked better than any other in the colonies.[89]

Certainly, the political concepts of Native Americans held a great fascination for the revolutionary generation. Repeatedly, the historical record shows that no matter what ideology an Adams, a Jefferson, a Wilson, a Pinckney, or a Franklin espoused, they often referred to their perceptions of Native American society. An examination of the papers of the founders demonstrates that they felt free to discourse on the nature of American Indian governments. Some, such as Pinckney and Franklin, believed that European governments were inapplicable in North America. Jefferson summed it up best in his letter to John Rutledge (one of the delegates from South Carolina) as Rutledge was finishing the first draft of the Constitution. Jefferson wrote that the "effect of kingly government . . . is to produce the wanton sacrifice . . . of the people." Jefferson concluded his analysis by observing that some Americans characterized "our's a bad government. The only condition on earth to be compared with ours, is that of the Indians, where they still have less law than we. The European, are governments of kites over pigeons."[90] There can be no denying that many of the founders were compelled to examine the merits of Native American governments in their search for an alternative to the British monarchy and its constitution.

11

THE PERSISTENCE OF AN IDEA

Impressions of Iroquois liberty after the eighteenth century

We have followed in our original organization the original [Iroquois] Confederacy as closely as possible, and we have succeeded in elucidating its structure in some important particulars.

—Lewis Henry Morgan to
Henry R. Schoolcraft,
10 April 1845[1]

Perhaps it is not out of place here to note an important recent development in scientific thought. Scientists are discovering a truth Indians have known all along, that the world is entire and whole, indivisible, inseparable from us. Note statements such as this: "We have to cross out that old word 'observer' and replace it with the new word 'participator.' In some strange sense the quantum principle tells us that we are dealing with a participatory universe. The quantum principle joins participator with systems in a "wholeness" (Niels Bohr). The universe is not "out there," but inseparable from ourselves. A cosmic community is reinstated. And a sense of cosmic unity runs throughout the teachings of Indian medicine-men such as Lame Deer who said "the spirit is everywhere." "Power," he says, "is a two-way thing."

—J. A. Wheeler, 1977[2]

Even after ratification of the United States Constitution, the political ideas of the Iroquois and their influence on the American mind persisted for most of the nineteenth century. Knowledge of Iroquois and other Native American societies and their political organizations would appeal to architects of European and American social and political movements much as they had helped shape the ideals of some of the United States' most influential founders. At a time when mainstream America was preoccupied with westward expansion, early feminists and Marxists, among others, contrasted the Iroquois system of government (as they described it) to European-bred oppressiveness. No century has been more hostile to America's indigenous peoples—but even in that heartless and savage century, impressions of native liberty continued to hold a powerful allure.

During the first decades of the Federal period, it became common practice to weld the Iroquois League's ideas to classical imagery, particularly from the Roman republic. In April 1792, Philip M. Freneau's *National Gazette* in New York made an important correction to a report about negotiations between President George Washington and Iroquois "princes" by informing their readers that, in reality, the Iroquois "were republicans, rather than aristocrats or monarchy men."[3] Speaking before the New York Historical Society in 1811, De Witt Clinton (a member of the New York Tammany society who had recently returned from a trip to western New York) stated that all of the proceedings of the Iroquois "were conducted with great deliberation and were distinguished for order, decorum, and solemnity." He also asserted that in "eloquence, in dignity, and in all characteristics of profound policy, they surpassed an assembly of feudal barons, and were perhaps not far inferior to the great . . . Council of Greece."[4] Comparisons such as these helped America develop an identity distinct from the British parliamentary tradition. Delivered just prior to the start of the War of 1812, Clinton's remarks served to illustrate a democratic tradition that was definitely not British in origin.

Early in his journey, Clinton was dismayed to find that the Iroquois seemed to have vanished; however, as his party moved westward, they witnessed a thriving Indian economy with people drying fish, making wampum, and raising children. As a result of his travels in Iroquois country, Clinton concluded that Native Americans had "all the indications of an incipient civilization" and that the Iroquois were "the Romans of the Western World."[5] In commenting on their government, he observed that the Iroquois

> look upon themselves as sovereigns, accountable to none but God alone, whom they call the Great Spirit. They admitted of no hereditary

> distinctions. The office of Sachem was the reward of personal merit—of great wisdom or commanding eloquence—of distinguished services in the cabinet or in the field.[6]

Indians symbolized republican virtue and freedom to the citizens of the early republic as much as they had to the Liberty Boys at the Boston Tea Party.

Tammany Hall in New York City, the political home of the local Sons of Saint Tammany, continued as a powerful political force, even though it would later forsake its idealistic origins. After the American Revolution, the society dedicated itself to the furtherance of liberty, independence, and federal union and worked against the powerful forces that hoped to institute an oligarchy or monarchy in the new nation. Tammany also advocated other democratic ideals. In 1826, for instance, the society was instrumental in developing a law to abolish imprisonment for debtors in New York City. Later, Tammany became a corrupt political machine, but its early record was notable for its dedication to freedom and justice, as well as the desire to identify its ideas with the traditions of American Indians.

Prominent political theorists and politicians in America also felt compelled to employ Iroquois examples. John C. Calhoun stated (in *A Disquisition on Government and a Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States*) that "governments of concurrent majority" were practical because the Iroquois utilized such a system. He believed that the "federal, or general government" of the Six Nations constituted a "council of union" wherein each

> member possessed a veto on its decision; so that nothing could be done without the united consent of all. But this, instead of making the Confederacy weak, or impracticable had the opposite effect. It secured harmony in council and action, and with them a great increase of power. The Six Nations became the most powerful of all the Indian tribes within the limits of our country. They carried their conquest and authority far beyond the country they originally occupied.[7]

Calhoun and his contemporaries felt that it was appropriate to discuss the Iroquois when advancing ideas about the revision of the Constitution, because its makers had called upon similar ideas in the eighteenth century.

In an "Address to the New York State Historical Society, May 27, 1847," Ely S. Parker, a Seneca, noted that the Iroquois had lost most of their land, they were now losing the rest of it, and, therefore, in the interest of self-preservation, they asked for one old tree under which to meet that would "cover us all." Parker noted that in the Iroquois treaties of the eighteenth century, the Iroquois were "one in council with you" Euro-Americans and were led "to believe one in interest." Speaking of the fascination of the founders with the Iroquois League, Parker reminded his audience that their forefathers were glad "to sit upon the thresholds of the 'Longhouse'[;] rich did they hold themselves in getting the mere sweepings from its door."[8]

Parker was a native informant for Lewis Henry Morgan's studies and became an early member of the anthropologist's Grand Order of the Iroquois.[9] Perhaps Morgan's interest in setting up such fraternal political societies had been influenced by his perception of the League as a virtuous democracy, which had been emulated by the founders. In fact, he wrote as much to Henry R. Schoolcraft in 1845. He said that his "Order of the Iroquois" clubs for young men had been established in order "to teach the materials for our Constitution which we have endeavored to adapt exactly to the original system" by establishing a "correspondence with educated Indians" and through personal interviews.[10]

Morgan believed that his study of the Iroquois was of enormous political importance.

> If we did not believe that the "New Confederacy" could be made the great repository of Indian intelligence for our Republic, and thus become an institution of value and usefulness; and if we did not anticipate the cooperation of the cultivated and distinguished minds of the Nation, we should certainly despair.[11]

Furthermore, he believed that the "national character" was "deeply involved in the Red-Man's future destiny." If, therefore, they would "watch over his political prosperity; the Order of the Iroquois will then become the Institution our country needs above all others."[12]

In a later description of the "Order of the Iroquois," Morgan recalled that these clubs were formed in areas of New York State in 1842, and the "several chapters," which were called "tribes," lasted until 1847.[13] (He still utilized the word *tribes* in reference to the kinship groups of the Senecas and Cayugas, but later corrected his terminology to the more appropriate *gentes* or clans.) He reported that the group once had four hundred members "in various Central New York towns," but had fallen through "because we were young men."[14]

Even at midcentury, the folklore surrounding Indian democracy still exerted a strong influence in American government. Horatio Seymour of New York stated that government "of the whole, by the whole and for the benefit of the whole" was "native" to America and was "no more to be traced back to the old world than [were] the granite rocks" on which they now stood.[15] Seymour was a frequent visitor to the Onondaga Reservation. He served as governor of New York from 1853 to 1855 and ran for president on the Democratic party ticket in 1868.[16]

Another aspect of Native American life that alternately intrigued, perplexed, and alarmed European and Euro-American political leaders and philosophers (nearly all of whom were male) was the role of Indian women, who, in many cases, held pivotal positions in native political systems. Iroquois women, for example, nominated men for positions of leadership and could "dehorn" or impeach these leaders for misconduct. Women's approval was usually a necessary precondition for conducting war. In a matrilineal society—and nearly all the confederacies that bordered the colonies *were* matrilineal—women owned all household goods except the men's clothes, weapons, and hunting implements. They were the primary conduits of culture from generation to generation. In the Cherokee home, for example, the woman was supreme. An eighteenth-century observer reported that the "women rule the rost, and weres the britches and sometimes will beat thire husbands within an inch of thire life."[17]

The founding mothers of feminism also were familiar with the works of the fledgling anthropologists. For instance, Elizabeth Cady Stanton quoted the memoirs of the Reverend Asher Wright, who wrote of Seneca home life in this way:

> Usually the females ruled the house. The stores were in common, but woe to the luckless husband or lover who was too shiftless to do his share of the providing. No matter how many children, or whatever goods he might have in the house, he might at any time be ordered to pick up his blanket and budge; and after such an order it would not be healthful for him to attempt to disobey. The house would be too hot for him, and unless saved by the intercession of some aunt or grandmother he must retreat to his own clan, or go and start a new matrimonial alliance with some other.[18]

According to Stanton, Wright also noted that Iroquois women alone could "knock off the horns" of a sachem who had abused his office, as well as make the original nominations for sachemships. In early treaty negotiations, representatives of the United States, all male, had often found themselves face-to-face with Iroquois women. Many of the treaties negotiated before 1800 are signed by both male sachems and their female advisors.

Among the Cherokees (as with the Iroquois), women did not hold the office of *Uku* (civil chief) or Raven (war chief), but they often sat in on council meetings and acted as advisors behind the scenes. More than once, treaty council business stalled after English delegates objected to the fact that Cherokee women were engaged in what the English regarded as "men's business." After one such objection, the Cherokee chief Little Carpenter curtly informed the English that all men present had been born of women. He then diplomatically told the English delegates to sit down, shut up, and get back to business.[19]

Father Joseph Francis Lafitau elegantly summed up the status of Cherokee women in their society. "It is she who maintains the tribe, the nobility of the blood, the genealogical tree, the order of generations, and the conservation of the families." Women "are the souls of the council."[20] Women were the "souls" of the Iroquois Grand Council as well; they were often so influential that Iroquois men have been characterized as their political representatives.[21] The Iroquois system has been styled a "gynocracy."[22]

Indeed, the Iroquois had even provided an elaborate description of the duties and rights of women in their Great Law[23] and recognized by law that the earth belonged to Iroquois women.[24] In the Iroquois Law of the Woman Chief, women's specific powers associated with governmental processes were clearly delineated.

> We shall make the rule that, in the place where the Federal titles are placed, among all our tribes, also among the clans—the several clans which exist—the several women who control the official titles, it shall then be that the Eldest woman, upon whom the eyes of her entire uterine family shall rest, shall be charged with all these duties.[25]

During the American Revolution, General Philip Schuyler of New York paid diplomatic homage to Iroquois women when he met with a delegation of Mohawks near Schenectady, New York on 16 January 1776. In urging neutrality upon the Mohawks and their leader, Abraham, Schuyler reminded them that

> your women have sent us a belt. We beg you to assure them of our regard, and intreat them to prevent your warriors from doing anything that would have the least tendency to incur our resentment or interrupt that harmony which we wish to subsist to the end of time.[26]

After this admonition, a Mohawk chief replied,

> You may depend on it that we will use our utmost influence with our warriors, to claim their minds. You may depend on it likewise that our sisters will use their utmost influence for the same purpose.[27]

Iroquois women's power was observed at many of the early treaty councils. At the treaty deliberations with the Iroquois at Buffalo Creek in 1791, Colonel Thomas Proctor noted in his journal on 15 May that "the leaders of the Indian women" came and spoke to him. The Iroquois elder women told Proctor that he

> ought to hear and to listen to what we women shall speak, as well as to the sachems; for we are the owners of this land and it is ours; for it is we that plant it for our and their use. Hear us, therefore, for we speak of things that concern us and our children, and you must not think hard of us while our men shall say more to you; for we have told them.[28]

Proctor acceded to the request of the Iroquois women and attended a council the same day to hear "the women's speaker," Red Jacket. He observed that the "elders of the women" were "seated near their chiefs." After his arrival, Red Jacket paused briefly and then continued "the speech of the women agreeably to the terms entered into between them" and all "of the sachems of the Six Nations."[29]

At an early nineteenth-century treaty conference, another Iroquois sachem provided the following explanation for the United States delegates:

> Our ancestors considered it a great offence to reject the counsel of women, particularly the female governesses [clan mothers]. They were esteemed the mistresses of the soil. Who, said our forefathers, bring us into being? Who cultivates our lands, kindles our fires, and boils our pots, but the women?. . . . They entreat that the veneration of our ancestors in favor of the women not be disregarded, and that they may not be despised. . . . The female governesses beg leave to speak with the freedom allowed to women and agreeable to the spirit of our ancestors. They entreat the Great Chief to . . . preserve them in peace, for they are the life of the nation.[30]

Thomas Jefferson also understood the rationale for the power of Indian women, which he described in his *Notes on Virginia*:

> It is civilization alone which replaces women in the enjoyment of their natural equality. . . . Were we in equal barbarism, our females would be equal drudges. The man with them is less strong than us, but their women stronger than ours; and both for the same obvious reason; because our man and their woman is habituated to labor and formed by it.[31]

Women's influential role in traditional Iroquois society has changed little in the two or three centuries since Europeans first encountered Native

America. John Kahionhes Fadden, a Mohawk teacher and artist, related the following story, which occurred during the mid-1960s in the Akwesasne Mohawk Longhouse.

> There was a fellow who had been "de-horned." He was an eloquent speaker, and in a charismatic manner was able to hold people spellbound. During one summer there was a conference of traditional people that traveled from reserve to reserve, meeting with like-minded people. They finally came to Akwesasne and the event went on for the good part of a week. . . . There were Creeks and Cherokees from Oklahoma, Utes from Utah, Malecites from New Brunswick, Manawaki Algonquins from north of Ottawa, plus a good representation of the nations of the Haudenosaunee and others, like Hopis, and a lot of them wore cowboy hats.
>
> Anyway, at one point when all of these people were gathered in the Longhouse, many benches deep with a lot of people standing in the doorways and some outside craning their necks and cocking their ears to listen to what was going on, the "de-horned" former chief couldn't resist the temptation of that audience. He stood to talk to the gathered people, and, as you know, a "de-horned" chief isn't supposed to talk, and for sure no one is supposed to hear his words. He was able to get out about two or three brief sentences before he was abruptly interrupted by a slicing voice from the women's end of the Longhouse. She was a clan mother, and standing less than five feet tall, she made it quickly and abundantly clear that this man could not speak anymore. He had lost that right by abusing his former position. The six-foot, two-hundred-plus pound "chief" snapped his mouth shut, sat down, waited about a minute or so, then quietly, with his head kind of low, left the Longhouse. Now, as I see it, that's feminism.[32]

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the role and power of women in Iroquois society helped inspire some of the most influential architects of modern feminism in the United States.

Marriage customs among American Indians elicited descriptions from eighteenth-century European and Euro-American observers that strike a surprisingly modern tone. Robert Rogers noted that in many American Indian nations, not only were vows of marriage voluntary, but the Indians took "companions for a shorter or longer time, as they please[d]." He reported that children of such arrangements were fully accepted in native societies at a time when such children would have been stigmatized as "born out of wedlock" in European cultures.[33] Thomas Paine pointed up the hypocrisy of European customs in a fictional conversation with "an American savage." "Either the Christian God was not as good and wise as he is represented," the "savage" had concluded,

> or he never meddled in the marriages of his people; since not one in a hundred of any of them had anything to do with either happiness or common sense. Hence, as soon as ever you meet, you long to part, and not having this relief in your power, by way of revenge, you double each others' misery.[34]

Displaying a remarkable degree of tolerance, which transcended the norms of his time, Reverend Peters wrote that Indian women were better off as pagans than under Christian customs, where a woman was regarded as her husband's property. Before the arrival of Europeans in Connecticut during 1634, Indian women had been (according to the minister) "the most chaste set of people in the world. Concubinage and fornication" were vices "none of them" had been "addicted to, except such as forsake the laws of Hobbomockow [the Great Spirit] and turn Christian."[35]

Pressure to broaden the ambit of natural and civil rights for women began to build early in the nineteenth century, at roughly the same time as the abolitionist movement. While the landmark Seneca Falls conference—usually credited today as marking the beginning of the first wave of the modern feminist movement in the United States—was not held until 1848, the ideological basis for this movement was laid by Lydia Maria Child in her *History of the Condition of Women, in Various Ages and Nations,* which was published in 1835. Child's book counterposed the Iroquois and Huron cultures to European patriarchy by illustrating the important role of native women in political decision making. The suffrage movement found allies among contemporary Iroquois figures such as Dr. Peter Wilson, who had advocated women's suffrage "as in his nation" in an 1866 speech before the New York Historical Society. Wilson provided other useful advice in the same speech. He remarked that the Iroquois had "established a republican government on this continent" and (in an obvious reference to Jefferson's *Notes On Virginia*) that "Thomas Jefferson copied largely from their constitution."[36]

The Iroquois example also figured importantly in another seminal work—Matilda Joslyn Gage's *Woman, Church and State,* published in 1893. Knowledge of the Iroquois matrilineal system of society and government was widespread among early feminists, many of whom lived in upstate New York and learned of the Iroquois not only through reading the works of Morgan, Schoolcraft, and others, but also through direct personal experience. In her book, Gage acknowledged the modern world's debt to the Iroquois for providing "its first conception of inherent rights, natural equality of condition, and the establishment of a civilized government upon this basis"[37] According to Gail Landsman, "Child's work was mined extensively by later suffragists, including Matilda Joslyn Gage, who furthered Child's concept of Indian culture as a matriarchal alternative to American white patriarchy through her contact with the Iroquois."[38]

Gage was one of the most influential architects of the nineteenth-century women's movement—along with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony—according to Sally R. Wagner, whose research was among the first to provide a scholarly basis for a resurgent feminist movement in the late twentieth century. Gage co-authored the landmark *History of Woman Suffrage* with Stanton and Anthony. Her last book, *Women, Church and State,* opened with a chapter on "the matriarchate," a form of society she believed existed in a number of early societies, specifically the Iroquois. Gage discussed several Iroquois traditions that tended to create checks and balances between the sexes, including descent through the female line, the ability of women to nominate male leaders, the fact that women had a veto power over declarations of war, and the woman's supreme authority in the household. Gage also noted that Iroquois women had rights to their property and children after divorce.[39]

In her argument regarding the influential role of the Iroquois, Gage cited a statement she attributed to George Bancroft, who also believed that the United States had borrowed some of its forms of government from the Six Nations.[40] Bancroft, however, did not ignore European precedents and neither did Gage. According to Wagner, Gage linked herself to a five-hundred-year tradition—"from Christine of Pisa and Margaret of Navarre to Mary Wollstonecraft"—of resistance to "Western gender relations." Given its ideological lineage, then, it made very little sense to Gage that the United States government would deny the full fruits of its revolution to women. Gage herself was admitted into the Iroquois Council of Matrons, and was adopted into the Wolf Clan, who "lived in a state of gender balance and justice."[41] Thus, she became Karonienhawi, "she who holds the sky."[42] Gage was later "read out" of the movement and its history because of her radical views, especially regarding the oppression of women by organized religion.

The early suffragists developed their work in temporal tandem with Lewis Henry Morgan, the pioneer anthropologist whose work describing Iroquois society provided the basis for the field in the United States. According to Wagner, Stanton specifically referred to Morgan's work in her address, "The Matriarchate or Mother-Age," which she delivered to the National Council of Women in 1891.[43] Stanton pointed to the influence of Iroquois women in national councils and to the fact that their society was descended through the female line. She also noted, with a good deal of irony, that "our barbarian ancestors seem to have had a higher degree of justice to women than American men in the 19th century, professing to believe, as they do, in our republican principles of government."[44]

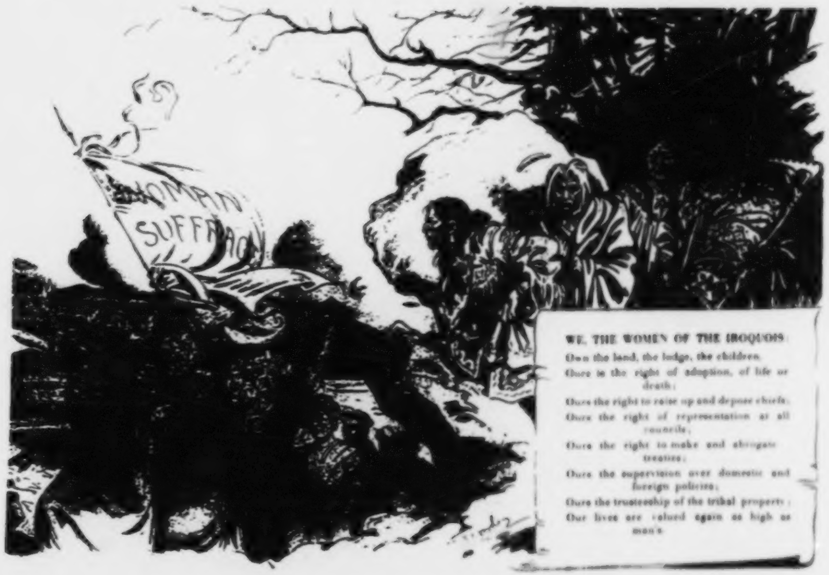
Besides the nineteenth-century "radical feminist theoreticians" such as Stanton and Gage, Wagner has researched the work of their male contemporaries who also "looked to the Iroquois for their vision of a transformed world."[45] Their work illustrated the appeal of the Iroquois example to women locked in a culture that considered them to be their husbands' property. She cites an example from Henry Schoolcraft's research, which was written in 1846, two years before the Seneca Falls conference.

> Marriage, among the Iroquois, appears to be a verbal contract between the parties, which does not affect the rights of property. Goods, personal effects, or valuables of any kind personal or real, which were the wife's before, remain so after marriage. . . . Marriage is therefore a personal agreement, requiring neither civil nor ecclesiastical sanction, but not a union of the rights of property. Descent being counted by the female may be either an original cause or effect of this unique law.[46]

Paula Gunn Allen has contrasted women's actual role in Native American societies with its mass media portrayals.

> I am intensely conscious of popular notions of Indian women as beasts of burden, squaws, traitors, or, at best, vanished denizens of a long-lost wilderness. How odd, then, must my contention seem that the gynocratic tribes of the American continent provided the basis for all the dreams of liberation that characterize the modern world. . . . Beliefs, attitudes and laws such as these became part of the vision of other human-liberation movements around the world. Yet feminists too often believe that no one has ever experienced the kind of society that empowered women and made that empowerment the basis of its rules and civilization.[47]

It is Allen's belief that the writers of the history of feminism have tended to be Eurocentric, and the resulting lack of knowledge has robbed feminists of their own history. The same realization came to Wagner after seventeen years of studying feminism's European roots. Once she turned her attention to native cultures, she found their inspiration running throughout the primary sources of the early American feminist movement. For instance, Frances Wright, the first non-Quaker woman to speak publicly before audiences of both men



WE, THE WOMEN OF THE IROQUOIS:

Own the land, the lodge, the children.

Ours is the right of adoption, of life or death;

Ours the right to raise up and depose chiefs;

Ours the right of representation at all councils;

Ours the right to make and abrogate treaties;

Ours the supervision over domestic and foreign policies;

Ours the trusteeship of the tribal property;

Our lives are valued again as high as man's.

[Puck, May 16, 1914]

SAVAGERY TO "CIVILIZATION"

THE INDIAN WOMEN: We whom you pity as drudges reached centuries ago the goal that you are now nearing

FIGURE 38.

and women in the United States, co-edited the pro-Indian *Free Enquirer* with Robert Dale Owen during the 1820s. Owen also inquired about the relative absence of rape among Indians and sought an explanation for their behavior in their social structure. Wagner also cites the example of Lucretia Mott, the convener of the Seneca Falls conference. Mott had taken part in a meeting with the people of the Cattaraugus Seneca Reservation just days before she met with Stanton and a group of Quaker friends to plan the Seneca Falls event—the world's first conference explicitly dedicated to women's rights.[48]

It may be cold comfort to Marxists that even the authors of *The Communist Manifesto* found it necessary to correct an overly Eurocentric statement in this work after they, too, became acquainted with the social and political systems of the Iroquois, chiefly through Morgan's pioneering research. When the *Manifesto* was originally published in 1848, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." In the 1888 English edition, however, Engels added a qualifying footnote— "that is, written history"—to take into account information on prehistorical societies with which he and the recently deceased Marx had become acquainted during the ensuing four decades. Engels went on to explain the evolution of this process.

> Haxthausen discovered common ownership of land in [prehistoric] Russia. Maurer proved it to be the social foundation from which all Teutonic races started in history [and soon] village communities were found to be, or have been the primitive form of society everywhere from India to Ireland. The inner organisation of this primitive Communistic society was laid bare, in its typical form, by Morgan's crowning discovery of the true nature of the *gens* [clan], and its relation to the *tribe*. With the dissolution of these primaeval communities society begins to be differentiated into separate and finally antagonistic classes.[49]

In the nineteenth century as in the eighteenth, the image of the Indian served to provide antagonists of the European status quo with an alternative example of how societies could be organized and operated. The Iroquois, who occupied the center of diplomatic activity in the eighteenth century, became the focus of Morgan's work in the nineteenth and so retained their pivotal position in the communication of these images between cultures. Nearly a century after the pivotal events that formed the United States, Morgan characterized the Iroquois League as a federation organized very much like the new nation. His studies indicated that the Iroquois nations "sustained nearly the same relation to the league that the American states bear to the Union.

In the former, several oligarchies are combined within one, in the same manner as [in] the latter, several republics are embraced in one republic."[50] He also noted that the "people of the Longhouse commended to our ancestors a union of the colonies similar to their own as early as 1755." This was possibly a reference to the Albany Plan of Union, authored by Benjamin Franklin, although (apparently unknown to Morgan) as early as 1744, the Iroquois sachem Canassatego had urged colonial union based on the Iroquois model. Morgan believed that the Iroquois recognized basic "elements for a confederation" in the colonies—"common interests and common speech."[51] It was his view that the Iroquois Confederacy "contained the germ of" and inspiration for "modern parliament, congress and legislature."[52]

Morgan's work inspired both American feminists and European socialists in their belief that one could invent a better society by looking back to the original state of humankind—the same sort of mirror on antiquity that Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, and Paine had used in their analyses of American Indian societies a century earlier. Engels inherited Marx's copious notes on Morgan's *Ancient Society*; he published *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State,* based on these notes, in 1886. Studying Morgan's account of "primitive" societies, whose cornerstone was the Iroquois, Engels provided what he believed to be an egalitarian, classless model for society, complete with justice between the sexes. In this work, he approvingly cited Morgan's assertion that

> [d]emocracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education, foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence, and knowledge are steadily tending. *It will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality, and fraternity of the ancient gentes* [emphasis added by Engels].[53]

Engels's tone seemed to indicate that he had seen the future reflected in the past, and it worked. In this future, just as in Iroquois society,

> [e]verything runs smoothly without soldiers, gendarmes, or police; without nobles, kings, governors, prefects, or judges; prisons, without trials. All quarrels and disputes are settled by the whole body of those concerned . . . not a bit of our extensive and complicated machinery of administration is required. . . . There are no poor and needy. . . . All are free and equal—including the women.[54]

Without citing them specifically, Engels evoked an image of Native American society (more than likely the Iroquois) that was strikingly similar to accounts by American revolutionaries of the century before, such as Franklin, Paine, or Jefferson, who wrote that American Indians had never

> [s]ubmitted themselves to any laws, any coercive power and shadow of government. The only controls are their manners, and the moral sense of right and wrong. . . . There is an error into which most of the speculators on government have fallen, and which the well-known state of society of our Indians should have corrected. In their hypothesis of the origin of government, they were supposed to have commenced in the patriarchial or monarchal form. Our Indians are evidently in that state of nature which has passed the association of a single family, and not yet submitted to authority of positive laws, or any acknowledged magistrate.[55]

This "error," of course, was similar to the one Marx and Engels had made in the first edition of *The Communist Manifesto.* As prisoners of their own times and perceptions, Marx and Engels in 1848 had yet to shed their Eurocentric notions that history had begun with patriarchal, monarchal governments. Imagine how the discovery of societies that operated differently must have fascinated them as well as the early feminists—much as it had intrigued some of the major architects of the American Revolution and its first governmental forms. After learning of "the true nature" of the "mother-right gens," for example, Engels quickly understood its importance:

> It has the same significance for the history of primitive society as Darwin's theory of evolution has for biology, and Marx's theory of surplus value for political economy. . . . *The mother-right gens has become the pivot around which* [political economy] *turns*" [emphasis added].[56]

As contemporaries of Morgan, Engels, and Marx, the founding mothers of modern feminism in the United States shared their enthusiasm for the discovery of functioning societies that incorporated notions of sexual equality. All seemed to believe that the native model held promise for the future. Gage and Stanton looked to the native model as a design for a "regenerated world."[57] "Never was justice more perfect, never civilization higher than under the Matriarchate," Gage wrote.[58] She believed that this system was where "the science of government reached the highest form known to the world."[59] Writing in the *New York Evening Post,* she contended that the "division of power between the sexes in this Indian republic was nearly equal."[60]

In her 1891 speech before the National Council of Women, Stanton surveyed the research of Morgan and others, which indicated that among "the greater number of the American aborigines, the descent of property and children were in the female line. Women sat in the councils of war and peace and their opinions had equal weight on all questions."[61] In this regard, she mentioned the Iroquois councils specifically.[62] After citing examples from tribal societies in other parts of the world as well, Stanton closed her speech with a case for sexual equality.

> In closing, I would say that every woman present must have a new sense of dignity and self respect, feeling that our mothers, during long periods in the long past, have been the ruling power and that they used that power for the best interests of humanity. As history is said to repeat itself, we have every reason to believe that our turn will come again. . . . It may not be for woman's supremacy, but for, the as yet untried experiment of complete equality, when the united thought of man and woman will inaugurate a just government, a pure religion, a happy home, a civilization at last in which ignorance, poverty and crime will exist no more. Those who watch already behold the dawn of the new day.[63]

How nearly the opposite of nineteenth-century patriarchy the Iroquois example must have appeared to the founders of modern feminism. Alice Fletcher, a noted suffragist, ethnographer, and government agent, provided one such case in point in a speech before the International Council of Women in 1888. Fletcher posed the case of a brother coming to the aid of a woman being beaten by her husband. Under Iroquois custom, the brother was honor-bound to defend her; however, under United States law at that time, he could have been charged with a criminal act for doing so. Under which system, then, were women's rights better protected?[64]

At the same conference, Fletcher related an experience from her life among the Indians that pointed to another difference regarding the status of women—this time, in relation to property. When an Indian woman with whom she had once lodged gave away a very fine horse without first asking her husband's permission, Fletcher was surprised and also worried that the husband would be upset. The woman's eyes danced when Fletcher expressed her concern, and, laughing gently, she hastened to tell this to the other women in her tent; the Indian women were more than a little amused at the hold a white man had on his wife's property, Fletcher said.[65]

By the 1890s, women's property rights were beginning to change in states such as Mississippi, and, in at least one case, the inspiration for this change was traced back half a century to the Chickasaws. A reporter for the *Albany Law Journal* remarked on 5 March 1892, "It is said, and it is no doubt true, that our first married woman's law 'in the statute of 1839' embodied and was suggested by the tribal customs of the Chickasaw Indians, who lived in our borders."[66]

The use of Indian women as exemplars of feminist liberty continued into the twentieth century. On 16 May 1914, only six years before the first national election in which women had the vote, *Puck* printed a line drawing of a group of Indian women observing Anne Howard Shaw, Anthony, and Stanton leading a parade of women. A verse under the print read,

> *"Savagery to Civilization"*
> *We, the women of the Iroquois*
> *Own the Land, the Lodge, the Children*
> *Ours is the right to adoption, life or death;*
> *Ours is the right to raise up and depose chiefs;*
> *Ours is the right to representation in all councils;*
> *Ours is the right to make and abrogate treaties;*
> *Ours is the supervision over domestic and foreign policies;*
> *Ours is the trusteeship of tribal property;*
> *Our lives are valued again as high as man's.*[67]

The list of New Yorkers citing Iroquois contributions to the American system of government does not end with Morgan and major feminist thinkers. In 1894, Elliot Danforth, the former New York State treasurer, asserted before the Oneida Historical Society that the Iroquois "nations were confederated in a barbarian republic upon the unique plan afterward adopted by our states and our national republic."[68]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the "Six Nations" article in the *Encyclopedia Americana* stated that the founders, "in framing a Constitution for the United States, honored these people by the adoption of their general constitutional system."[69]

In 1932, an article entitled "Civilization and the Indians" appeared in the *Washington Star*. Written by a Seneca, Alice Lee Jemison, it asserted,

> To the council fires of our league came the great of colonial times: Benjamin Franklin, Timothy Pickering, Gen. Lafayette and other only slightly less distinguished. [They] came not only to negotiate and treat with this recognized power, but to observe and study the methods whereby six distant nations or states, each with an independent internal government, were bound together and governed by a national council.
>
> Many tributes have been paid this league. Only recently, in Congress, Senator [William] Borah [of Idaho] pointed out that the Government of the United States had no European foundation, but was established upon the basic principles of the League of the Iroquois.[70]

It is important to note that the Iroquois people in the last two centuries have repeatedly confronted the American public with the notion that the Iroquois profoundly influenced the evolution of American government and that the roots of American democracy were multiracial.

John Collier, Franklin D. Roosevelt's commissioner of Indian affairs in the 1930s and 1940s, idolized the League of the Iroquois. He praised the Iroquois Confederacy as the most important Indian group in North America. Collier claimed that the Iroquois League was the greatest institutional achievement of humanity. While emphasizing the practical aspects of its political organization, he thought of the Iroquois Confederacy as an ideal democratic government, which others should follow, since it was such a successful historical model. Collier also was influenced by the publication, by Carl Van Doren and Julian P. Boyd, of *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin, 1736–1762.*[71]

In 1937, Matthew W. Stirling, chief and later director of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1928–58), stated in an article in the *National Geographic* that the Albany Plan of Union was greatly influenced by the League of the Iroquois. He stated further that the Iroquois had a profound impact on the formation of the American state.[72] Stirling reiterated his respect for American Indian ways when he testified in Congress in the 1950s that "perhaps we can learn the elusive secret to world-wide peace" from the Iroquois.[73]

The 1940s saw the discovery by William N. Fenton of Seth Newhouse's version of the Constitution of the Iroquois. Newspaper accounts called the Great Law of the Iroquois "a sort of Magna Charta" and stated that the League "was perhaps the first constitutional government to arise in the New World." The reports also asserted that few Americans knew how "the workings of the league affected the thinking of the framers of our constitution."[74]

A press release by The Smithsonian Institution on 5 November 1953 stated, "The bald eagle, symbol of the American Republic, also was the over-all symbol of the Iroquois republic, the League of the Six Nations in New York State, which preceded it."[75]

In the 1950s, the distinguished American legal scholar, Felix Cohen, argued that

> it is out of a rich Indian democratic tradition that the distinctive political ideals of American life emerged. Universal suffrage for women as for men, the pattern of states that we call federalism, the habit of treating chiefs as servants of the people instead of their masters, the insistence that the community must respect the diversity of men and the diversity of their dreams—all these things were part of the American way of life before Columbus landed.[76]

Cohen was a professor of law at the City University of New York and Yale and wrote the *Handbook of American Indian Law*, a standard reference in the legal field, when he worked for the Interior Department as associate solicitor in 1942.

Mildred F. Garlow, Seneca Deer Clan mother, raised the issue of the Iroquois roots of American democracy once again in 1959 and implied that it was a part of the Iroquois oral tradition. In her statement, "Demarcation of the Five Nation Confederic Democracy—*Novus Ordo Seclorum*," Garlow recounted the origin of the League of the Iroquois. She found that the concepts of democracy implemented in "the United States deleted and infringed" upon Iroquois ideas "by being mingled with . . . Political Science." In addition, she discounted Greek and Roman antecedents for American government, asserting that "the founding fathers" even "deleted the moral laws of democracy, creating an autocratic government." She further believed that the founders "camouflaged themselves" under "the outspread wings of the unique American bald eagle, the five pointed star, arrows and quiver, etc. by their political science with the emblem of the Iroquois."[77]

Garlow firmly believed that

> [d]emocracy is cradled in the Longhouse of the Iroquois [and] . . . the government of the United States. Democracy did not come from the Eastern Hemisphere—it was not created in the Western Hemisphere by the Eastern Mind. It was in operation long before Christopher Columbus' time.[78]

Thus, the Iroquois maintained a belief (usually through oral history) that their Confederacy had helped shape the United States from the time of its founding to the late twentieth century. From time to time, mention of the idea reached print, often as a small part of larger studies with other objectives. The documentary history in its entirety waited to be explored.

The chiefs of the Iroquois Confederacy in the 1970s reiterated their longstanding opinion that

> European people left our council fires and journeyed forth into the world to spread principles of justice and democracy which they learned from us and which have had profound effects upon the evolution of the Modern World.[79]

The Iroquois have maintained the knowledge of how their forebears helped shape the United States, as well as continuing the operation of their traditional political system. Today, the grand council fire still burns at Onondaga, and each nation's council of chiefs still meets, even though the state and federal governments recognize other councils created by *their* laws (see figure 39). Wilbur Jacobs has summed up the impact of the Iroquois political system on the government of the United States in this way:

> Academics still argue about whether the Indian confederations of colonial times had a tangible influence upon the fathers of the Constitution. The case for the Indians is not so far fetched as one might think. Franklin, an admirer of the Iroquois league, had good reason to know its virtues for he had been an Indian commissioner at treaties, and at the Albany Conference of 1754 he and his fellow delegates had a whole series of scoldings from Old Hendrick of the Mohawks who praised the league and told them their disorganized, womanlike method of defense against the French was to be deplored. It is known that other framers of the Constitution had knowledge of Indian confederation systems and the ideals of Indian democracy.
>
> Moreover, these statesmen were avid readers of the French *philosophes* whose writings were partly influenced by descriptions of North American Indians set forth in the writings of French Jesuit missionaries. The noble savage idea, hammered into the writings of Michel de Montaigne and later French writers, including Rousseau, was embellished with the ideas of natural rights, of the equality of man, and with democratic tribal traditions of North American Indians.[80]

Except for a few American Indian scholars and even fewer non-Indian scholars in the late 1970s, Jacobs's attempt to foster serious study of the influence of American Indian democratic traditions on Euro-Americans fell on fallow ground. The question became an area that "legitimate" and "prestigious" academics chose to ignore.

In a perverse turn of history, the wresting of Western Europe from totalitarianism spawned two generations of scholars who looked solely to Europe for the source of most ideas. In supporting democracy in Europe and the rest of the world in the twentieth century, Americans seem to have forgotten the distinctive origins and characteristics of their own government and sociopolitical traditions. This Eurocentric intellectual framework has caused a great many problems in the examination of Native and Euro-American relations. Vine Deloria, Jr., a Native American political scientist, has noted the difficulty in presenting the Native American point of view and interpretations in contemporary scholarship.

> The identification of scholars working in the field of Indian-white relations has this strange quality to it: proponents of the Indian version

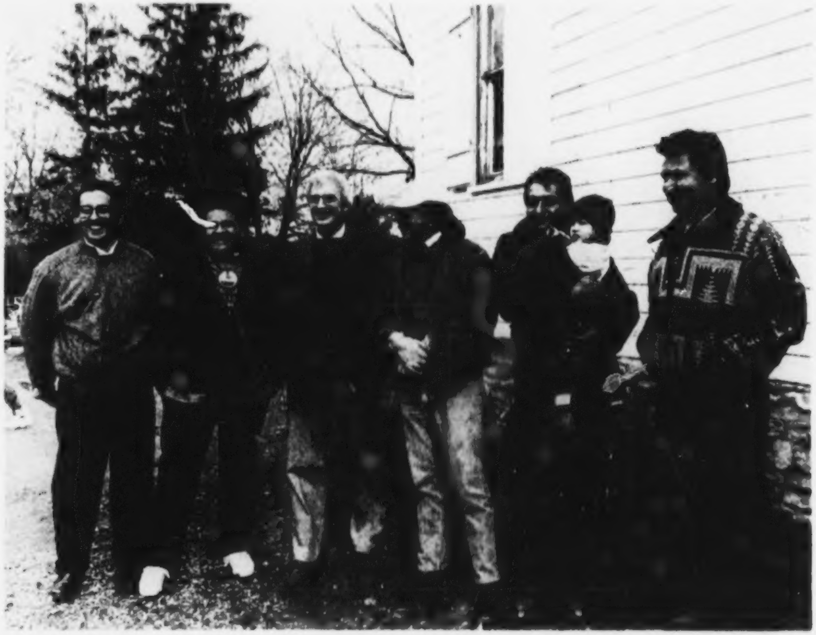


FIGURE 39. Left to right: Harold Tarbell, former head chief of the St. Regis Mohawk tribe; Jake Swamp, Mohawk Nation Wolf Clan subchief; Thomas Sobol, New York State Commissioner of Education; Ron LaFrance, Mohawk Nation Wolf Clan subchief; Tom Porter, Mohawk Nation Bear Clan subchief (holding Teiowentsiakwente Skidders); and Richard Mitchell, Mohawk Nation Wolf Clan faithkeeper.

> of things become "revisionists," while advocates of the traditional white interpretation of events retain a measure of prestige and reputation.[81]

Studies of Native American political theory in the past have been thwarted by the inability of many academics to confront the evidence that leads to an awareness of intercultural exchange in North America. Essentially, the term *revisionist* is a misnomer, since it is the "revisionists" who seek to recast the paradigms of American history and, in this case, American political theory. From an epistemological viewpoint, the role of the "revisionists" is to develop new data and interpretations that include a profound understanding of American Indian history and its role in the development of the United States. This means that "revisionists" will not only examine the Native American viewpoint but also study the very things that make the United States unique, durable, and adaptive as a nation. All facets of the American vision have to be included so that the diversity of American society can be reflected in the new emerging scholarship. In some ways, this new vision of American history and society may be as enlightening as were the events that led to the American and French revolutions more than two hundred years ago. To contemporary societies searching for a new definition of freedom, the lamp of the Native American experience shines as powerfully today as it did two centuries ago.

In analyzing the "revisionist" impulse throughout American history, one may wonder whether Franklin, Jefferson, Paine, Marx, Engels, Stanton, Gage, and other revolutionary thinkers over-romanticized their images of American Indian societies in order to create a counterpoint to the ills they saw in their own contemporary societies. Very possibly they did simplify a complex native reality at times. They did not invent these societies, however. Their observations sprang from genuine native practice, which did not always conform to its own ideological tenets.

When seeking sources of revolutionary inspiration, one must remember that revolutionaries usually run stronger on hope than on cold data. Generally, social revolutions are not made by folks in white frocks, and the ideas that shape them come in firestorms of passion as often as by the patient sifting of ethnographic evidence. Whether or not their perceptions were always perfectly accurate, these movers of minds *were* shaped by their exposure to American Indian ideas and political organizations, particularly those of the Iroquois. Without that example, our social history would have been woven of different cloth.

The extent to which their image of native societies shaped their thought is evident in their own words.

The flowering of the Enlightenment, which was spurred by Europe's "discovery" of America and its peoples, coincided with the founding of the United States and bequeathed to that nation a marvelous intellectual heritage, which has since contributed to worldwide aspirations for improvement of the human condition. These are ideas of extraordinary appeal and power, which have shaped the value we place on our own sense of freedom as well as our regard for the freedom of others. It is another of those supreme ironies of history that such an official ideology often has been called into service to justify imperialism overseas and a widening class structure within the United States, even as our legislatures and courts struggle, day by day, to refine "a more perfect union" that is composed of a set of egalitarian ideals that compete (as they have since the United States' earliest days) with swarms of special interests. In our own day, the principles espoused by Franklin, Jefferson, Paine, and others may come to us from other places and in other languages. Depending on their ideological inclinations, United States presidents may hail such revolutionary language if it happens to be in Polish, Russian, or Chinese, whereas if it comes to them in Spanish (say, from Nicaragua or Chile), they might complain that its authors are attempting to export revolution.

In their day, America's revolutionaries fervently "exported" revolution to Europe. John Dos Passos described Americans in Paris at the dawn of the French Revolution as "having a fine time going around telling all and sundry how to run their revolutions . . . feeling a certain elation over their position as godfathers of a new age."[82]

Ideas of American-style liberty turned "all Ireland America-mad," wrote Horace Walpole.[83] Dublin had its "Liberty Boys" as newspapers carried detailed reports from America's political storm centers. Soon after the French Revolution, which Paine watched from the barricades, political upheavals reflecting ideas of liberty convulsed Belgium, Sweden, Poland, and Norway. Late in his life, Jefferson even advised revolutionaries in Greece. In 1821, an elderly Jefferson wrote to John Adams that the "flames kindled on the Fourth of July, 1776, have spread over too much of the globe to be extinguished by the feeble engines of despotism."[84]

History is often neither as new nor as old as it may seem. In the case of Native American contributions to Western political thought, one may wish to consider the case of Ho Chi Minh, as he wrote the Vietnamese declaration of independence. As a student in France, Ho had discovered Jefferson in the same libraries where he also studied Marx, Engels, and Lenin. In 1945, an astonished spy from the Office of Strategic Services (predecessor to the Central Intelligence Agency) watched as Ho searched for a copy of Jefferson's Declaration of Independence to verify the wording. The spy reported that Ho knew more about Jefferson than most well-read Americans did.[85] In August 1945, when the Viet Minh seized Hanoi from the French, Ho initiated his regime before a half-million people with the words, "All men are created equal; they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."[86] He then credited Jefferson, little knowing that he also was about to begin two decades of warfare with Jefferson's national descendants, whose government was prepared to carry on an overseas war the likes of which would have made King George III proud.

Consider now the image of a million students and workers in Beijing's main square as they demonstrated for greater democracy. The socialist world is in ferment over the ideas of our exemplars of liberty, the Native Americans who inspired our founders more than two centuries ago. Scan now the capitals and major industrial cities of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union that share in this ferment. Given Marx's and Engels's enthusiastic response to Morgan's reports of Iroquois liberty, they might today hail the remaking of socialist societies.

One wonders what Franklin and Jefferson would have to say about the wave of democracy rippling across the world in the late twentieth century. What would Canassatego and Hendrick have thought of the way their ideas have reverberated around the world? Had Europe not opened its eyes to America and its peoples, the Enlightenment and the revolutions it spawned would have worn very different faces. In the final analysis, American Indians have exerted a sustained and significant influence on the nature of American democracy and, by implication, on the world.

12

CONCLUSION

[The Iroquois are] the Romans of this western world, who composed a federal Republic.

—De Witt Clinton, 1811[1]

Few people are aware of the intense debate over the basic evidence concerning the development of the United States Constitution. Many scholars erroneously assume that there is an established database with a well-developed scholarly consensus on the origins of American government. However, the attempt to recognize the contributions of *all* Americans, whether of European or Indian descent, in this nation-building process has called into question "established" histories of the formation of the Constitution and the major sources relating to it. Realizing this change in constitutional scholarship, the authors have endeavored to discern the impact of Native American polities on the evolution of American government.

On ground so well worn as the history of the United States Constitution, just the idea that a significant new thread—a Native American thread—could be discovered in our national intellectual tapestry after two centuries has been a compelling reason for the intense interest and debate. In formulating our study, we have been reminded of two principles that animate such a discussion. First, arguing from a monocausal viewpoint puts the judicious scholar at immense risk; as the number of historians examining any subject increases, so does the number of rationales for it. Second, the credibility of any argument rests on the quality of evidence that supports it.

With these factors in mind, what can be concluded from the following analysis by John Adams?

> If Cicero and Tacitus could revisit the earth, and learn that the English nation had reduced the great idea to practice . . . and that the Ameri-

> cans, after having enjoyed the benefits of such a constitution a century and a half, were advised by some of the greatest philosophers and politicians to renounce it, and set up governments of the ancient Goths and modern Indians—what would they say? That the Americans would be more reprehensible than the Cappadocians, if they should listen to such advice.
>
> It would have been much to the purpose, to have inserted a more accurate investigation of the form of government of the ancient Germans and modern Indians; in both, the existence of the three divisions of power is marked with a precision that excludes all controversy. The democratical branch, especially, is so determined, that the real sovereignty resided in the body of the people, and was exercised in the assembly of king, nobles, and commons together.[2]

With just this one quotation for reference, we might make a number of deductions. First, that Adams was critical of tribal governments such as "the ancient Goths and modern Indians," but saw merit in their dedication to the notion of a separation of powers—a notion that was the central thesis of his *Defence of the Constitutions of the Government of the United States of America*. Second, his argument implied that other people, or groups of people, *supported* a replication of tribal governments, at least in part. Third, his comment demonstrated that he (and other non-Indians) understood that Native Americans *maintained* organized political structures. Finally, his statement implied an atmosphere of debate into which some participants factored American Indian polities. In general, Adams reflected the conservative angst of the times; he seemed to fear the possibility that the country might abandon many of its English traditions and go "tribal" or revert to a natural state. Our first deduction demonstrates the critical faculties of Adams; the rest point to ideas but sketchily researched until now.

James H. Hutson, chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, has written that whatever consensus scholars of the constitution shared regarding the founders' motivations was shattered in the late twentieth century following "the collapse" of the Beard thesis.[3] First proposed in 1913, the Beard thesis, which alleges that the founders' motivations were based primarily on practical economic interests, became but one of many contending interpretations by the 1950s. The continuing debate, however, has been marred by the troublesome tendencies of some historians to persist in the attempt to discover one or two distinct, overriding motivations for this epochal event as well as an uncritical acceptance of some standard sources often used to interpret the motivations of the founders at the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Hutson has taken dead aim at this problem. For instance, the notes of some of the principal players were incomplete or plainly altered years after the convention to meet the needs of the individuals' political affiliations, according to Hutson. He has supported Heinmann and Kelso in their contention that James Madison's notes were "edited quite liberally to make them accord with the positions Madison took on political disputes long after the Convention."[4] These notations provide a tenuous foundation for a scholarly edifice, especially when they are cited in isolation from the social, ideological, and political currents of the late eighteenth century, as well as the two preceding centuries of European settlement.

On the subject of motives and models, it has been argued by some that the founders were primarily practical men and by others that they were primarily driven by ideology. Hutson has found that scholars have proposed models for the Constitution as diverse as the writings of Machiavelli, the thinkers of the Scottish Enlightenment, and, of course, Locke and Montesquieu.[5] Even the documentary sources on the origins of the Constitution can often be very confusing. Charles Pinckney, delegate to the Constitutional Convention from South Carolina, recalled in 1788, for instance, that the delegates were skeptical of European governmental systems, since "[f]rom the European world no precedents are to be drawn for a people who think they are capable of governing themselves."[6] Because Pinckney clearly implies that the convention looked outside of the European experience for ideas on self-government, this statement *compels* us to examine alternative, non-European models.

Although some may view our attempt to assess the impact of Native American societies in this intellectual equation as overzealous, our argument should be viewed in the same context as the many others that have been made over the years. Given the enormity of the task, we will allow those who continue our research to put the matter into perspective. But let us put aside the idea that any single rationale can explain the evolution of America's character and Constitution. The authors will continue to argue, along with Hutson, that this does "not, however, mean to be understood" as an endorsement of "the Beardian view that the practicality of the delegates implied an indifference to ideas or a penchant for rationalizing when they employed ideas."[7] We believe that the most influential founders gathered to share ideas in search of practical solutions to national problems. Adams, for example, searched among ancient and contemporary political systems for governmental structures that would serve the practical aspirations for the people of the United States and presented these findings in his *Defence*.

In addition, a large part of the practical diplomatic and economic business of the United States at the time of the Constitutional Convention was conducted with American Indians. Native Americans still occupied much of the territory allocated to the United States at the Treaty of Paris in 1783. To argue that Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, and Wilson did daily business with native nations, only to come away from that experience without knowing anything of their political systems, defies both logic and historical record. If anything, the *Defence* cautioned against slavishly replicating native models, while at the same time it recognized the debate involving the virtues and vices of Native American governmental systems.

American Indians are not the only victims of neglect in the scholarly debate over the Constitution itself; much of the traditional history seems to write out Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson as well. Are we to assume that Franklin, primary advocate of political union as early as the Albany Plan, decided to retire from this business after his role in composing the Articles of Confederation? His intellectual legacy resides mainly in articles for the public press before and during the convention; he died shortly afterward, leaving no notes to be embellished except for the Albany Papers, which he had prepared in consultation with Matthew Carey.[8] Franklin's impact on the convention itself should not be minimized, however. It was in reply to opinions expressed by Franklin that Adams instructed the delegates not to emulate “ancient Goths or modern Indians” too closely. Similarly, are we to assume that Jefferson, whose Declaration of Independence fired the Revolution, took no interest in the Constitution Convention while serving as the ambassador to France? Although his impact can be discerned most clearly in the Bill of Rights, he also corresponded with John Rutledge, who was charged with finishing the first draft of the Constitution. In one letter Jefferson observed that most European governments were autocratic monarchies; the “only condition on earth to be compared with [our government] . . . is that of the Indians, where they still have less law than we.”[9]

Colonial Americans, and especially Virginians, gained their knowledge of democracy through a process that had no “secrecy in voting, and polling places.”[10] No doubt, this process of “oral voting” (publicly declaring one's vote before one's peers and the candidates on election day) was similar to American Indian democratic procedures in the minds of people such as Jefferson.[11] Indeed, Charles S. Sydnor asserts that in order to understand the handiwork of Washington, Jefferson, and Madison

> in establishing American representative government and their thoughts about philosophy and ideals of democracy one must remember that be-

> hind their thoughts and deeds lay their own experiences in Virginia politics as well as their reading from such authors as Harrington, Locke, and Montesquieu.[12]

However imperfect the oral electoral process might have been, it is clear that Jefferson viewed American government with its American Indian aspects as a great improvement over the European models, which were "governments of kites over pidgeons."[13] The political constituencies that these men represented participated in the governmental debate throughout the late 1780s, even if their contribution is largely missing from the records of the convention itself.

Besides cautioning against slavish reliance on convention records, Hutson has also raised intriguing questions about the effect of conversations that were never recorded. He cites William Samuel Johnson, who confirmed the existence of after-hours conversations "among all the little parties of members."[14] The atmosphere for such conversation was enhanced, of course, by the fact that many delegates stayed at the same rooming houses or taverns, such as the Indian Queen. Any event involving large numbers of people making important decisions, in colonial times or ours, is bigger than the written record it leaves behind. This realization only strengthens the argument for a careful inspection of the social and political milieu surrounding an event, in order to better place statements made for the record into the broader social context. Particular attention must be paid to the oral history when the affairs of Native Americans are at issue, since it is the major medium by which tribal people in the Americas transfer recollections from generation to generation.

Along with after-hours conversations and other informal channels of communication, the comments and contributions of ancillary figures—people who did not hold officially delegated power but recorded proceedings, contributed expertise, or were otherwise consulted by people with decision-making power—should be closely inspected. Because such people often had fewer political motivations than the principal participants, their recollections are often less subject to after-the-fact embellishment. In building our case, we found that the writings of Charles Thomson were especially important, since his primary responsibility at the Continental Congress was to record proceedings, not to mold the outcome. Conversely (Hutson has noted wryly), such an active participant in the Constitutional Convention as Madison could hardly have spoken and taken notes simultaneously.[15]

We believe that, in the traditional interpretations of the development of the Constitution, too much emphasis has been placed on the battle between the federalists and their opponents. Certainly, differ-ing points of view existed on the fine points of the new government's structure, but, as William Samuel Johnson's recently discovered letter pointed out, "the universal sense" among the delegates was that the "greatest danger of failure was from the great extent of the union."[16] As the decade-old union quivered near collapse under the Articles of Confederation, their overriding concern was to find a structure practically and ideologically suited to thirteen distinct colonies spread out over an area that was enormous by European standards. The League of the Iroquois provided an appealing example of such a structure to Franklin and his allies. Franklin had expressed his admiration for the Iroquois Confederacy as early as 1751; as the question of unity once again faced the former colonists, the idea resurfaced, only to be challenged by Adams (as cited above).

To illustrate this point, we have cited the example of one symbol that was borrowed by Franklin from the Iroquois Confederacy: a bundle of arrows. This symbol reappeared throughout the period leading up to the Constitutional Convention and finally found a home in the Great Seal of the United States (see figure 40). At one point, Charles Thomson entertained the idea of placing less than thirteen arrows in the eagle's left claw on the Great Seal; however, Congress eventually decided to use thirteen arrows, one for each of the former colonies. Thus, it can be seen that an Iroquois image was used (albeit slightly altered) for the emerging nation as a symbol of unity.[17]

The authors concur with Hutson's assertion that a major aim of constitutional scholarship ought to be the identification of the major areas of consensus among the delegates. According to Herbert J. Storing, such a list would include "separation of powers, checks and balances, government by consent, and the rule of law."[18] The historical record indicates that American Indian references to several of these concepts were discussed in the context of native societies and can be found sprinkled liberally throughout the writings of Franklin, Jefferson, and other influential founders. The Constitution has an historical genealogy with roots in America as well as Europe, and native polities definitely made an important contribution. Indeed, it would be an historical anomaly if Europeans who immigrated to North America lived without genetic, cultural, intellectual, and diplomatic interaction with its native people for almost two centuries before the Constitutional Convention. The reality, of course, was that some feared that Europeans living in a sea of Native Americans might go "native."

During the ratification period, American Indian governments were discussed extensively in the nation's foremost magazines. In March of 1788, Charles Thomson stated that the Iroquois were "like the old Ro-

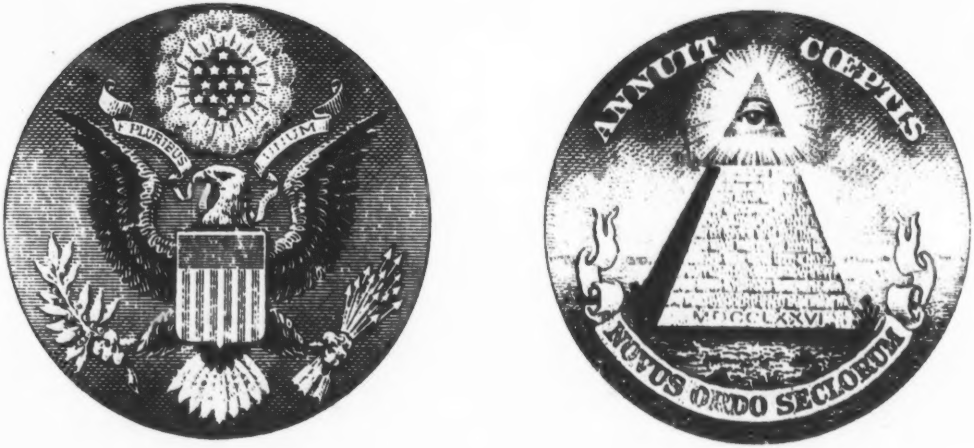


Figure 40. Great Seal of the United States of America. Obverse, left; reverse, right. The final version of the Great Seal of the United States of America was designed by Charles Thomson (adopted Delaware), secretary to Congress. After refusing to follow the recommendations of three congressional committees, the Congress turned the matter over to Thomson on 13 June 1782. Within a few months, Thomson designed a seal incorporating the American bald eagle clutching a bundle of arrows (Thomson had proposed five or six arrows, while Congress favored thirteen) that was reminiscent of the imagery of the League of the Iroquois and their crucial role in the birth of the United States. From the start, the committee to design a seal emphasized the synthesis of native and European cultures. In 1776, Thomas Jefferson had proposed that one of the figures on the coat of arms of the United States be a "leatherstocking" or frontiersman in Native American buckskin garb. Jefferson noted that the proposed motto underneath the coat of arms was "E Pluribus Unum."

mans in the time of Gaul."[19] Thomson also asserted that some European writers believed they were "adverse to society and social life. Can anything be more inapplicable than this to a people who always live in towns or clans?"[20]

As one rather active participant in the debate regarding native contributions to our founding ideology has written, "Everything that colonists wrote about Indians, of course, has a bearing on the images they held of the Indian and consequently may be evidence of the influence of those images on American institutions, even those institutions they chose not to copy."[21] This was precisely the case, and it opens a very large playing field for research and debate regarding such influence or lack thereof. The use of the word *copy* is rather troubling, however. *Synthesize* would be a more accurate choice. In this context, the argument can be advanced that the founders availed themselves of some indigenous American ingredients heretofore not widely recognized.

We believe that it is useful to attempt to look at North American history as the continent's original inhabitants might have seen it, that is, through aboriginal eyes. Our basic assumption has been that native peoples, as well as the peoples of European ancestry, were causal agents in the colonial and early national history of the United States. This viewpoint is shared by American Indian people in their scholarship and tribal traditions; they clearly perceive the history of North America as interactive and the product of synthesis. Print-oriented scholars who ignore this understanding of North American history tend to amplify the divisiveness, racism, violence, and segregation that developed out of the eventual domination of European culture.[22]

However, changing the fundamental perceptions and views of our history can be difficult. The "restoration" of Williamsburg, Virginia, for instance, is hardly an accurate colonial replication; missing are the native peoples who mingled daily with the colonists. Between the 1920s and the 1970s, the streets and structures of "colonial" Williamsburg did not include Blacks, either, another interpretation that tells us a great deal about the dominant assumptions of history during that half-century. In 1790 the first census of the United States reported that about nineteen percent of the country's population was Black—over 90 percent of them slaves.[23] A representation of Williamsburg—the political capital of a slave-holding, plantation-based colony—seems ludicrous without Blacks on its streets. American Indians are still absent from Williamsburg today, even though no less a source than Jefferson observed that, before the American Revolution, Indians "were in the habit of coming often, and in great numbers to the seat of our government, where I was very much with them."[24] The authors contend that the sources are readily available to reassess the role of American Indians in our history, but sufficient will and consciousness to implement such a process do not yet exist. Indeed, the tendency is to ignore Jefferson's statement that he "was very much with" Indians, in spite of his own words on the matter.[25]

Like it or not, the United States has always been a multicultural country. To understand its history as it happened (and not as an exercise in selective perception), we must continue to rediscover *all* our roots. All of us must try to abandon the cultural blinders of the twentieth century so that records of the eighteenth century can speak to us in a more concise and informative way. American history is not only the story of the unfolding of a democratic society; it should also be an examination of all the intellectual and cultural wellsprings of our multicultural and multiracial heritage. To a greater extent than most of the nations of the world, the United States was formed on the basis of ideas rather than racial, cultural, or linguistic homogeneity. Individual freedom, federalism, checks and balances, and sovereignty vested in the people rather than a monarch were unifying forces that sought to foster a political cohesion among a diverse and geographically dispersed population.

Perhaps the biggest myth in American history is the proposition that the American revolutionaries fought a long and bloody war against British tyranny and then adopted, lock, stock, and barrel, a British governmental system that they criticized and detested. Thus, the current interpretations of the development of the United States Constitution that do not include Native American perspectives are "charter myths" (with roots only in the Magna Charta and the development of the British Constitution) designed to serve the basic needs of a society so young that it is still very unsure of itself. As we mature as a nation, our history will expand to include more viewpoints and perspectives on the development of the Constitution. A more balanced North American perspective of United States constitutional history will recognize two distinct charter myths (Anglo-Saxon antecedents and American Indian tribal traditions such as the charter myth of the Iroquois Great Law) intersecting in American history. The documentary proof has already been uncovered that American Indian people, particularly the Iroquois and their ideas, played a role in the evolution of American government, since they were physically present at certain key events relating to the development of American government. In other instances, it is known that American Indian ideas were a part of the discourse on non-European governmental alternatives. In the final analysis then, the real charter myth of American government is both an extension of European traditions and native North American traditions. Native American political concepts must join the pantheon of ideas (Greek, Roman, English, etc.) in American history that influenced the minds of Americans as they grappled with the problem of creating a distinct, unique, and original form of union.

REFERENCES

Abbreviations

AAA	American Anthropological Association
APS	American Philosophical Society
BAE	Bureau of American Ethnology
HSP	Historical Society of Philadelphia
NAA	National Anthropological Archives
NYPL	New York Public Library
U.S.GPO	United States Government Printing Office

Introduction

1. Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 9. Beverley was Virginia's first native-born historian. A recent article states that the main subject of his discourse was "natural liberty versus authority." (See Robert D. Arner, "The Quest for Freedom: Style and Meaning in Robert Beverley's *History and Present State of Virginia*," *Southern Literary Journal* 8 [1976]:98.) Obviously, Beverley admired natural liberty among American Indians.

2. John Adams to Abigail Adams, 10 July 1776, in *The Book of Abigail and John: Selected Letters of the Adams Family, 1762–1784*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 143 (hereafter cited as *The Book of Abigail and John*).

3. Daniel Boorstin, *The Colonial Experience* (New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1958), 160.

4. Regarding the debate over these issues, see Elisabeth Tooker, "The United States Constitution and the Iroquois League," *Ethnohistory* 35 (Fall 1988):305–36 (hereafter cited as "U. S. Constitution"). Tooker believes that the Iroquois played no role at all in the evolution of American democracy. But to state such unsubstantiated generalizations about the origins of American political theory is very similar to the misconception that all relations between the "savage" Indians and "civilized" Europeans were hostile (see Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire* [New York: W. W. Norton, 1984], xvi [hereafter cited as *Iroquois Empire*]). For more on this debate, see also Bruce E. Johansen, "Native American Societies and the Evolution of Democracy in America, 1600–1800: A Commentary," *Ethnohistory* 37:3(Summer 1990):179–90 (hereafter cited as "Native American Societies") (with Tooker's reply); Donald A. Grinde, Jr., "Iroquoian Political Concept and the Genesis of American Government: Further Research and Contentions," *Northeast Indian Quarterly*

6 (Winter 1989):10–21 (hereafter cited as "Iroquoian Political Concept"); and Bruce E. Johansen and Donald A. Grinde, Jr., "The Debate Regarding Native American Precedents for Democracy: A Recent Historiography," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 14:1(1990):61–88 (hereafter cited as "Native American Precedents").

Contemporary histories are often clouded by their authors' misperceptions of American Indians. Isabel Thompson Kelsay's recent biography (in a refereed scholarly press) of Joseph Brant engages in blatant stereotyping; without a shred of evidence, she characterizes Brant's family in this way:

> [The Mohawks] all craved rum; it was their greatest pleasure, and when really thirsty any of them would give everything he possessed for a dram of "that Darling Water." There is no reason to suppose that Joseph [Brant's] parents were any better, or any worse, than this.

See Isabel T. Kelsay, *Joseph Brant, 1743–1807* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1984), 40–41 (hereafter cited as *Joseph Brant*).

Actually, alcoholism was pervasive in Euro-American society. Physician David Ramsay stated flatly that "drunkenness may be called an endemic vice of Carolina." He observed that the majority of the population abused "spirituous liquors." (See David Ramsay, *History of South Carolina* [Charleston: David Longworth, 1809], 2:391.) Often, the insults to Native American people are more insidious. Bernard Bailyn's recent work, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), has nothing to do with American Indians. Instead, it examines the English origins of the early colonists who came to North America. Such titles validate the stereotypes that American Indians were either subhuman or did not even exist in eastern North America. With such characterizations persisting into the 1980s in the writing of the "new Indian history," Native Americans may well wonder if much progress has been made in rewriting American history to include them in a balanced and realistic way.

5. Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978) (hereafter cited as *White Man's Indian*).

6. William Brandon, *New Worlds for Old: Reports from the New World and Their Effect on the Development of Social Thought in Europe, 1500–1800* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986) (hereafter cited as *New Worlds for Old*).

7. Jack Forbes, "Americanism Is the Answer," *Akwesasne Notes* 6 (1975):37 (hereafter cited as "Americanism").

8. Julian Boyd, "Dr. Franklin: Friend of the Indian," in *Meet Dr. Franklin*, ed. Ray Lokken, Jr. (Philadelphia: Franklin Institute, 1981), 240 (hereafter cited as "Dr. Franklin"). However, some European historians have noticed the impact of non-Western ideas on Enlightenment thought. In J. O. Lindsay, ed., *The New Cambridge Modern History: The Old Regime, 1713–1763* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), VII, p. 65, it is observed that the use which writers like

> Montesquieu . . . made of a . . . noble savage to point a criticism of European conditions was an indication of how much the impact of other civilisations was affecting European ways of thought.

9. *Pennsylvania Packet*, 5 May 1785, and *Freeman's Journal*, 2 May 1785. For a discussion of the strengthening of traditional Iroquois values, see Wallace (Mad Bear) Anderson to Paul A. W. Wallace, 29 August 1959, Paul A. Wallace Papers, box 7, APS (hereafter cited as Wallace Papers). See also David S. Blanchard, "Pattern of Tradition and Change, the Re-creation of Iroquois Culture at Kahnawake" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1982). For a discussion of national identity in a larger context, see Richard Beeman, *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989) (hereafter cited as *Beyond Confederation*).

10. White Roots of Peace, *The Great Law of Peace of the Longhouse People* (Rooseveltown, NY: White Roots of Peace, 1971), sec. 57 (hereafter cited as *Great Law*).

11. J. N. B. Hewitt to Arthur C. Parker, 11 September 1912, J. N. B. Hewitt Letters, box 2, NAA, Smithsonian Institution, Washington (hereafter cited as Hewitt Letters).

12. Ibid.

13. Indeed, at the time of the ratification of the Constitution, some Americans rejected the notion that the Magna Charta was relevant. An editorial in the *Charleston Columbian Herald*, 12 June 1788, stated that Americans "have no more to do with Magna Charta than with the Alcoran [Koran]. . . . [A]s Americans, [we] have no dependence upon this boasted Magna Charta, [since] this government is for the people of the United States."

14. This analysis is very similar to the critique by John Adams in *Defence of the Constitutions of the Government of the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Hall & Sellers, 1787) (hereafter cited as *Defence*). Adams argued effectively that the example of the precise separation of powers developed by the American Indians was a good alternative system (see "British Group Starts Pushing for a Written Constitution," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 10 December 1988).

15. *American Museum* 5:2(February 1789):190.

16. Grinde, "Iroquoian Political Concept," 10-21.

17. *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, 4 May 1772.

18. *American Museum* 5:2(February 1789):190.

19. Joyotpaul Chaudhuri, ed., *The Non-Lockean Roots of American Democratic Thought* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), ix.

Chapter 1 — Vox Americana

1. William Penn to the Society of Free Traders, 16 August 1683, in Richard S. and Mary M. Dunn, eds., *The Papers of William Penn* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981-87), 2:261 (hereafter cited as *Papers of Penn*).

2. "For the Colony of Virginia Britannia. Laws Divine, Morall and Martiall . . . Paragraph 29," in *Tracts and Other Papers relating . . . to the origin . . . of the colonies in North America*, ed. Peter Force (New York: Peter Force, 1836–46), 3:n.p.

3. Daniel Leeds, "An Almanack for . . . 1700" [New York], *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 90:1(April 1980):90.

4. J. Hammon Trumbull, *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut* (Hartford: Brown & Parson, 1850–90), 1:78.

5. Lucy Lockwood Hazard, *The Frontier in American Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), 7.

6. Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan* (Amsterdam: J. F. Stam, 1637), 40.

7. Donald F. Conners, *Thomas Morton* (New York: G. K. Hall & Co., Twayne Pubs., 1969), 172.

8. Bruce A. Burton, "Squanto's Legacy: The Origin of the Town Meeting," *Northeast Indian Quarterly* 6(Winter 1989):4–9.

9. Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Complete Works of John Smith*. 3 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 1:232 (hereafter cited as *Works of John Smith*). See also Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in North America, 1580–1640* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1980). Kupperman asserts that "[m]odern descriptions of the meeting between Indians and the English colonists generally agree that the English were abruptly dismissive of Indian culture, that they were either totally disinterested or saw it as something to be shunned or even destroyed as the work of the devil. My reading . . . yielded a very different result, and one that seemed to me to make better sense of this early cross-cultural confrontation" (p. vii). According to Kupperman, the English immigrants to America believed that their society was "rapidly changing for the worse," and they often found examples of better ways in Native American societies (pp. vii–viii). Paradoxically, some of the English could be profoundly racist, while others were very appreciative of what they found in native societies. Kupperman found that racism tended to diminish with the frequency and intensity of direct contact with Native Americans. Those European observers who knew native America best tended to portray Native American individuals and cultures with respect; "far from characterizing the Indians as sub-human brutes who lacked government, eyewitness writers did not have the least doubt that the Indians were organized in a civil society" (p. 47), whose complexity was well recognized (p. 49). Kupperman found that in contemporary accounts, native leaders were described as possessing a degree of dignity often lacking in European rulers. For instance, she cites primary sources who found James I, king of England, to be "crude and uncivil." It was reported that he bathed hardly at all and regularly drank himself into a stupor worthy of the crudest stereotype of the drunken Indian. When the public demanded to see their reclusive king's face, it was said that he retorted, "God's wounds! I will pull down my pants and they shall see my arse!" (p. 51); see also J. P. Kenyon, *The Stuarts: A Study in English Kingship* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967), chap. 2, esp. 50–51.

His undignified behavior undoubtedly would have led to his impeachment had he been an Iroquois sachem. In comparison, Kupperman quoted John Smith's note that [illegible] washed his hands before and after every meal (p. 51); see also John Smith, "A Map of Virginia," in Barbour, *Works of John Smith*, 2:370–71.

While many anthropologists and historians currently assume that modern "white" world views, which are the products of complex technological and urban-oriented cultures, were shared by French and British colonial Americans, some (such as Cornelius J. Jaenen) believe otherwise. Jaenen asserts that, in many respects, early modern European views of nature (flora and fauna) had more in common with Native American ("natural man") attitudes toward the world and the environment than with the tenets of "modern" industrialized society (see Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Thoughts on Early Canadian Contact," in *The American Indian and the Problem of History*, ed. Calvin Martin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 55 (hereafter cited as *Problem of History*).

10. H. C. Porter, *The Inconsistent Savage: England and the North American Indian, 1500–1600* (London: Sheridan House, Gerald Duckworth & Co., 1979), 398 (hereafter cited as *Inconsistent Savage*).

11. Henry P. Biggar, ed., *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*. 6 vols. (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1922–36), 6:250.

12. Nicolaes Van Wassenaer, "Historisch Verhael," in *Narratives of New Netherlands*, ed. J. Franklin Jameson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), 69–70 (hereafter cited as *Narratives of New Netherlands*).

13. Ibid., 80.

14. Ibid., 68. See also Van Wassenaer's description of the Midwinter Feast of the Iroquois (p. 69).

15. Charles T. Gehring and William L. Starna, trans. & eds., *A Journey into Mohawk and Oneida Country, 1634–1635: The Journal of Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988), 17, 6–21. For further descriptions of Mohawk customs, see Johannes Megapolensis, "A Journey into Mohawk and Oneida Country, 1634–1635," *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, 2nd ser., vol. 3, pt. 1 (New York: printed for the society, 1857). Tooker, however, completely ignores early Dutch accounts of the Iroquois and the League [see Elisabeth Tooker, "The League of the Iroquois: Its History, Politics, and Ritual," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, gen. ed. William C. Sturtevant, *Northeast*, vol. 15, ed. Bruce Trigger (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978), 15:418–41 (hereafter cited as "League of the Iroquois")].

16. Adriaen van der Donck, "The Representation of New Netherland, 1650," in Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherlands*, 301.

17. Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland: Burrows Bros. Co., 1896–1901), 33:117–23 (hereafter cited as *Jesuit Relations*). Earlier hints of the existence of the Iroquois Confederacy in the 1630s and 1640s can be found in 8:115–17; 17:77; 21:21 and 201; and 33:65 and 71.

18. Pierre Esprit Radisson, *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson* (New York: Burt Franklin, Pub., 1967), 87.

19. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 41:87.

20. Ibid., 64:101.

21. Ibid., 51:237.

22. Ibid.

23. Dunn and Dunn, *Papers of Penn*, 2:261. An even more elaborate description of the message of peace can be found in Penn's 18 October 1681 speech to "the Kings of the Indians" (p. 128).

24. Ibid., 448, 452-53.

25. Ibid.

26. John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time* (Philadelphia: E. Thomas, 1857), 1:55 (hereafter cited as *Annals of Philadelphia*).

27. E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *New York Colonial Documents* (New York: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1854), 4:296-97 (hereafter cited as *N. Y. Colonial Documents*).

28. John Curtis Clay, *Annals of the Swedes of Delaware* (Chicago: John Ericcson Memorial Committee, 1938), 45. John Claudius Rising, governor of the Swedish colony in what is now Delaware, recounted a 1654 speech by the Delaware chief Naaman that made use of Iroquois rhetoric: "[T]he Swedes and the Indians [are] as one body and one heart, and . . . they should be as one head."

29. Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical Account of Pennsilvania and West New Jersey* [1648], ed. Cyrus T. Brady (Cleveland: Burrows Bros. Co., 1903), 54.

30. John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, ed. Hugh T. Lefler (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 114, 204-205, 240, 257.

31. "Propositions made by the Five Nations of Indians" [Albany, 20 July 1698], Indian Boxes, box 1, Manuscript Division, NYPL.

32. "Answers to the Propositions made by the Five Nations, 23 July 1698, by his Excellency, Earl of Bellmont, Governor of New York," Indian Boxes, box 1, Manuscript Division, NYPL.

33. *An Extract from the Journals . . . of Reverend Mr. Bolzius* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1734), 22.

34. Ibid., 24.

35. Benjamin Bissell, *The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935), 24-25 (hereafter cited as *Indian in English Literature*).

36. Robert Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America* [1765] (New Haven: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1966), 210 (hereafter cited as *Account of North America*).

37. Francis L. Hawks, ed., *A Relation of Maryland* [1635] (New York: J. Sabin, 1865), 38-39 (hereafter cited as *Relation of Maryland*).

38. Tench Tilghman, *Memoir of Lt. Col. Tench Tilghman* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1876), 86 (hereafter cited as *Memoir*).

39. Benjamin Franklin, "Remarks Concerning the Savages of North America," in *Benjamin Franklin: Representative Selections*, ed. Chester Jorgensen and Frank L. Mott (New York: Hill & Wang, 1962), 515.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. Kenneth W. Cameron, ed., *The Works of Samuel Peters of Hebron, Connecticut* (Hartford: Transcendental Books, 1967), 37-38 (hereafter cited as *Works*

of Samuel Peters). For an interesting treatment of "New World" liberty in an "Old World" context, see also Brandon, *New Worlds for Old*. Brandon acknowledges that a spirit of liberty suffused Europe (and its American colonists) after contact with native America. In some ways, our work builds on his, although we concentrate mainly (but not solely) on contacts between the English colonists who were instrumental in the formation of the United States and members of Native American confederacies in eastern North America. His emphasis is broader; for instance, he discusses Spanish and French colonial influence throughout much of Latin America. "The idea of popular liberty, liberty for all—not an element in the ancient tradition of the golden world but very much an element in the New World image—retreated like the New World people from the Old World's deadly contact and became still more straitly identified with the 'unspoiled,' indeed 'untouched' American Indians," Brandon writes (p. 44), referring to the first century of Spanish colonization. He believes, however, that all the evidence of New World liberty found in Old World culture during the Age of Exploration is "no proof of 'influence,' " because a birth is scarcely "proof of paternity" (p. 143). In general, he does not relate his analysis to the ways in which indigenous American societies operated nor to the specific ways in which colonists and European philosophers were influenced by the attitudes of those societies.

43. Cameron, *Works of Samuel Peters*, 37–38.

44. Ibid.

45. Rogers, *Account of North America*, 233.

46. David Jones, *A Journal of Two Visits Made to Some Nations of Indians on the West Side of the Ohio in the Years 1772 and 1773* (New York: Ayer Co. Pub., Arno Press, 1971), 73.

47. Samuel Edwards, *Rebel! A Biography of Thomas Paine* (New York: Praeger Pub., 1974), 49.

48. Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine* (New York: Carol Publishing Group, Citadel Press, 1945), 1:610 (hereafter cited as *Writings of Paine*).

49. Ibid.

50. Rogers, *Account of North America*, 232.

51. James Adair, *History of the American Indians* [1775], ed. Samuel Cole Williams (Johnson City, TN: Watauga Press, 1930), 406–407 (hereafter cited as *History of American Indians*).

52. Bissell, *Indian in English Literature*, 20.

53. Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 38 (hereafter cited as *Rebirth of the Seneca*).

54. Ibid.

55. Bissell, *Indian in English Literature*, 20–21.

56. William Bartram, *Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country* [Philadelphia, 1791], cited in Bissell, *Indian in English Literature*, 21.

57. Julian P. Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950–), 11:49 (hereafter cited as *Papers of Jefferson*).

58. Leonard W. Labaree, ed., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950–), 17:381 (hereafter cited as *Papers of Franklin*).

59. J. H. Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 154 (hereafter cited as *Jesuit and Savage*).

60. Ibid., 155.

61. Adair, *History of American Indians*, 459.

62. For details regarding Berkhofer's description of how the Euro-American mind created self-serving images of Native American societies, see Berkhofer, *White Man's Indian*.

Chapter 2 — Native Democracies

1. Thomas Jefferson, quoted in Adrienne Koch and William Peden, eds., *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: The Modern Library, 1944), 408 (hereafter cited as *Writings of Jefferson*).

2. St. Jean de Crèvecoeur, *Journey into Northern Pennsylvania and the State of New York* [1801, in French] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964), 461.

3. Wallace, *Rebirth of the Seneca*, 42.

4. Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Nations of Canada Which Are Dependent on the Province of New York in America* [1765] (New York: New Amsterdam Books, 1902), 2:v (hereafter cited as *Five Nations*).

5. The evolution of the Albany Plan of Union as well as the influence of the Iroquois Confederacy on its development are described in detail in Bruce E. Johansen, *Forgotten Founders: Benjamin Franklin, the Iroquois, and the Rationale for the American Revolution* (Ipswich, MA: Gambit, 1982), 56-76 (hereafter cited as *Forgotten Founders*).

6. Colden, *Five Nations*, vi. The relative importance of the Iroquois among other native nations is a matter of debate. For an alternative interpretation, see Daniel K. Richter and James Merrell, eds., *Beyond the Covenant Chain* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987) (hereafter cited as *Beyond the Covenant Chain*). Discussion of this debate is continued in footnote 30 of this chapter.

7. Cadwallader Colden, *History of the Five Indian Nations Depending on the Province of New York in America* [1727 and 1747] (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968), vi.

8. Ibid., 49.

9. Ibid., xx.

10. Ibid., xvii.

11. Ibid., xx.

12. Ibid., xvii-xix.

13. See Helen A. Howard, "Hiawatha: Cofounder of an Indian United Nations," *Journal of the West* 10 (1971):428; Arthur C. Parker, *Parker on the Iroquois*, ed. William N. Fenton (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1968), 428 (hereafter cited as *Parker*); Paul A. W. Wallace, *The White Roots of Peace* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1946), 3 (hereafter cited as *White Roots*).

14. English language copies of the Great Law of Peace are available through *Akwesasne Notes*. Parker's version of the Great Law, originally published in the *New York State Museum Bulletin*, 1 April 1916, is also available in Donald A. Grinde, Jr., *The Iroquois and the Founding of the American Nation* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1977), 147–67 (hereafter cited as *Iroquois*). For references to "pine tree chiefs," sachems, and rights and duties of women, see sections 20 through 40 in White Roots, *Great Law*.

15. "Abram Charles, Law of the Woman Chief, 21 May 1923," BAE, ms. 1636, NAA, Smithsonian Institution, Washington; also cited in George B. Goode, ed., *The Smithsonian Institution, 1846–1896* (Washington, DC: U. S. GPO, 1897), 390 (hereafter cited as "Woman Chief"); Hazel W. Hertzberg, *The Great Tree and the Longhouse: The Culture of the Iroquois* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1966), 55–60 (hereafter cited as *Tree*); Lewis Henry Morgan, *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines*, ed. Paul Bohannon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965); and William N. Fenton, "The Iroquois in History," in *North American Indians in Historical Perspective*, ed. Eleanor B. Leacock and Nancy O. Lurie (New York: Random House, 1971), 138–39 (hereafter cited as "The Iroquois").

16. See William N. Fenton, "Seth Newhouse's Traditional History and Constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 93(1949):141–58. See also Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois* (New York: AMS Press, 1975), 80. An opposing argument may be advanced that at the time the Great Law was written down, it was shaped to conform to existing United States fundamental law. Since we argue that intellectual influence flows both ways, we would not contend that such a process *never* took place. Not only oral tradition but copious references in the historical record (reaching back well before the development of the United States Constitution) support an assertion that the written Great Law is not simply a pale imitation of the Constitution.

17. John Mohawk, "Origins of Iroquois Political Thought," *Northeast Indian Quarterly* 3 (1986):1. See also William Canfield, *The Legends of the Iroquois: Told by "The Cornplanter"* (New York: A. Wessels Co., 1902), passim; and Frank H. Severance, ed., *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society* (Buffalo, NY: Buffalo Historical Society Publications, 1903), 6:415–16.

18. Wallace, *Rebirth of the Seneca*, 34–38.

19. Ibid. See also James Dean, "Mythology of the Iroquois," ms. 4961, NAA, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

20. Wallace, *White Roots*, 4–7.

21. See Tehanetorens, *Wampum Belts* (Onchiota, NY: Six Nations Museum, n.d.), 6–7. See also White Roots, *Great Law*.

22. Wallace, *White Roots*, 29.

23. Ibid.

24. Wilbur R. Jacobs, "Wampum, the Protocol of Indian Diplomacy," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 6:4 (October 1949):596–604; Hertzberg, *Tree*, 104–105; Arthur C. Parker, *The Constitution of the Five Nations* (Albany: State Museum, 1916) (hereafter cited as *Constitution*); and Joseph F. Lafitau, *Moeurs*

des sauvages américains, comparées aux première temps (Paris: Saugrain l'aine, 1724), 1:466–67 (hereafter cited as *Moeurs des sauvages*).

25. White Roots, *Great Law*, sec. 1–12.

26. Ibid., sec. 93. See also Colden, *Five Nations*, 1:xvii-xix.

27. Ibid., sec. 16. During the debates on the ratification of the Constitution, newspaper editorials often used the "rafters" analogy, with James Wilson as the architect. Reports quoted Wilson as stating that "the intention was to make a firm and substantial roof by uniting the strength of the thirteen rafters" (see *Charleston Columbian Herald*, 24 and 28 April 1788).

28. White Roots, *Great Law*, sec. 16. While the British did not have direct referenda, records indicate occasional impeachment—removal of a political figure by his or her peers—as early as the fourteenth century. For instance, Francis Bacon, then Lord High Chancellor to the King as well as a noted scientist, was impeached in 1621. In the Act of Settlement (1701), the king's right to overturn impeachments by issuing pardons was eliminated (Dr. Leslie Goldstein, personal communication to Johansen, 27 October 1988).

29. White Roots, *Great Law*, sec. 47.

30. Our post-modernist approach to discovering the origins of the Iroquois League reveals that, initially, the League was formed to resolve the internecine blood feud and thus was precipitated by internal and not external forces. In gaining unity that extended beyond the clan and nation, the Iroquois discovered the powers of self-defense that such a social contract provided. For a comprehensive legal study of the evolution of the tribal structures that led to a state monopoly of violence, see John Phillip Reid, *A Law of Blood* (New York: New York University Press, 1970). Unfortunately, many historians and ethnohistorians only dimly perceive the legal importance of ending the clan blood feud and place too much emphasis on the external pressures that possibly necessitated the League's development. For instance, "upstreaming" approaches this question by studying European accounts of the league's rhetoric and diplomacy. This focus on external (that is, non-Indian) factors and sources eventually crowds out the explanation of the origin of the League as told by the Iroquois people themselves. This logical positivist tradition, in which Fenton and other mainstream anthropologists operate, limits their understanding of events recorded before the formal birth of anthropology in the mid- and late-nineteenth century. In this process, the "upstreaming" researcher then telescopes these limitations back into earlier history, despite conflicting documentary evidence. Thus, Fenton can recognize that the roll call of the chiefs (as recorded on the Condolence Cane of the Iroquois) was the key to the Confederacy, while at the same time ignoring the significance of Lafitau's description of the "stick of enlistment" (as he called the Condolence Cane) (*Moeurs des sauvages*, 2:186–87).

A post-modernist approach examines the documents left behind by primary participants in the events under study and pieces them together (as were the examples from British, French, Dutch, and Swedish accounts cited in this chapter) to discover the developing pattern and build a mosaic that perceptually reinforces itself. However, when structural anthropologists turn to an examination of the Iroquois' role in shaping Western thought, the descriptions of and debates over this Native American political system—which pervaded the colonial, revolutionary, and constitutional periods of American history—often seem to be recognized but not understood. (See the following works by Fenton for examples of the structural approach: "Problems Arising from the Historic Northeastern Position of the Iroquois," in *Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America: Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections,* no. 100 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1940); "Collecting Materials for a Political History of the Six Nations," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 93(1949):233–38; "The Roll Call of the Iroquois Chiefs: A Study of a Mnemonic Cane from the Six Nations Reserve," *Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America: Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections,* no. 111 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1940); "The Iroquois in the Twentieth Century: A Case Study of the Theory of Lewis Henry Morgan in 'Ancient Society,' " *Ethnohistory* 4:3 (1957); Parker, "The Iroquois", and "The Lore of the Longhouse: Myth, Ritual and Red Power," *Anthropological Quarterly* 48:3 (July 1975). Daniel K. Richter goes even further than Fenton and Morgan in denying the political viability of the Iroquois Confederacy before the American Revolution (see "Ordeals of the Longhouse: The Five Nations in Early American History," in *Beyond the Covenant Chain*). Richter believes that the Grand Council "was not designed to make policy decisions or to provide a central government for the villages of the Five Nations" (p. 18). Furthermore, he believes that the perceived difference between accounts of the Iroquois League from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and those from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are sufficient evidence of a great change in the Iroquois Confederacy over time. Actually, Richter misreads Morgan's statements regarding the omnipotence of the Iroquois League. In fact, Tooker has pointed out that Morgan realized that the Iroquois ability to govern rested on unanimity "to accomplish its aims as the Iroquois . . . saw them" ("U. S. Constitution," 317). While Richter characterizes this free-form government as practically no government at all, it was precisely this concept that attracted many of the founders to the Great Law as an alternative to coercive European states. He makes no allowances for the possibility that his sources may have viewed the Iroquois League from an autocratic, European perspective before the American Revolution, nor does he seem to recognize the possibility of the development of a Euro-American awareness of the "republican" nature of the Iroquois Confederacy.

31. "Woman Chief," 390.

32. "Interview with Oren Lyons," *Akwesasne Notes* 3 (1972):6; Felix Cohen, "Americanizing the White Man," *American Scholar* 21 (1952):179–80 (hereafter cited as "Americanizing"); Bruce Burton, "Iroquois Confederate Law and the Origins of the U. S. Constitution," *Northeast Indian Quarterly* 3 (1986):4–9.

33. Fenton, "The Iroquois," 139.

34. William M. Newell, *Akwesasne Notes* 3 (1972):22–23; and Edward S. Corwin, "Franklin and the Constitution," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 100 (1956):283–88.

35. Bruce G. Trigger, *Children of the Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People* (Montreal: University of Toronto Press, McGill-Queen's University Press [Canada], 1976), 1:54–58, 102–103.

36. Ibid., 54.

37. Ibid., 55.

38. Ibid., 59.

39. Koch and Peden, *Writings of Jefferson*, 408.

40. John Phillip Reid, *A Better Kind of Hatchet: Law, Trade and Diplomacy in the Cherokee Nation During the Early Years of European Contact* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), 4-5. See also Reid, *A Law of the Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee Nation* (New York: New York University Press, 1970).

41. Cited in Fred Gearing, *Priests and Warriors: Social Structures for Cherokee Politics in the Eighteenth Century*, memoir 93, AAA, vol. 64, no. 5, part 2, October 1962.

42. John Howard Payne, Payne Buttrick Papers, Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, 4:66.

43. David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740-62* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 91 (hereafter cited as *Cherokee Frontier*). A case has been made that Cherokee society was marked by a growing economic inequity; however, this assertion does not necessarily negate the fact that many Euro-American observers were inspired by images of liberty from that same society. For a discussion of this concept of the evolution of Cherokee society, see Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979).

44. Ibid.

45. Jesse O. McKee and Jon A. Schlenker, *The Choctaws: Cultural Evolution of a Native American Tribe* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1980), 17.

46. William N. Fenton et al., eds., *Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture*, BAE, Smithsonian Institution, Bulletin 180 (Washington, DC: U. S. GPO, 1961), 11.

47. Cyrus Thomas, *The Cherokees in Pre-Columbian Times* (New York: N. D. C. Hodges, 1890).

Chapter 3 — Natural Man in an Unnatural Land

1. William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, act 2, scene 1, lines 155-60.

2. Labaree, *Papers of Franklin*, 20:287-88.

3. Porter, *Inconsistent Savage*, 211.

4. Labaree, *Papers of Franklin*, 20:287-88.

5. Daniel G. Brinton, *The Myths of the New World* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1905), 220-23.

6. See David Errol Soulsby, *Tacitus, Selections from Agricola* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

7. For a discussion of naturalism in Roman and Greek thought, see Arthur O. Lovejoy et al., eds., *Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1935), vol. 1.

8. This modernized version of the original Middle English is from A. L. Norton, *The English Utopia* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1952), 217-22.

9. Bruce A. Burton, "First Contact: Paradigm and Plunder in the New World 1492-1610," ms. draft supplied by Burton to Johansen, August 1989, 4 (hereafter cited as "First Contact").

10. Ibid., 4-5.

11. Ibid., 9.

12. Charles M. Andrews, *Famous Utopias* (New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1911), 163, 167.

13. Ibid., 175.

14. William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, act 2, scene 1, lines 155-60, cited in Fredi Chiapelli, ed., *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 1:147. Shakespeare had read Florio's 1603 translation of Montaigne's "Of Cannibals" and seems to have rephrased lines for his own work that the French philosopher had written in 1580.

15. In Iroquois country—so the story went—Jesuit missionaries told Indians that Christ, their savior, had been born in France and crucified in Protestant England. This tale mattered little to the Iroquois; it had a great deal of significance for their relations with the English, however.

16. Richmond P. Bond, *Queen Anne's American Kings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), 40 (hereafter cited as *American Kings*).

17. Ibid.

18. Johansen, *Forgotten Founders*, 69-70.

19. *The History of the Reign of Queen Anne, Digested into Annals: Year the Ninth* (London: Thomas Ward, 1711), 189-91. For more detail on the visit of the "American Kings" to England, see "To our Great Queen, April, 1710," and "The Four Indian Sachems Letter to Rt. Honourable Lord's of her Majesty's Council" [April 1710], in Schuyler Indian Papers, box 13, Manuscript Division, NYPL; and Grinde, *Iroquois*, 30.

20. "The Four Kings of Canada" (London: n.p., 1710), 6-7.

21. Ibid., 7-8.

22. Bond, *American Kings*, 5.

23. *Tatler*, 27-29 April 1710, cited in Josh Aston, *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1882), 1:294.

24. Bond, *American Kings*, 8.

25. *Post-Man*, 9-11 May 1710, cited in Bond, *American Kings*, 13.

26. For detail on Joseph Brant's visits to England, see Kelsay, *Joseph Brant*, 161-75, 379-94.

27. *Spectator*, 27 April 1711.

28. *Tatler*, 13 May 1710.

29. *Spectator*, 27 April 1711.

30. Ibid.

31. Henry Morley, ed., *The Spectator* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1891), 1:190.

32. Ibid., 210.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid., 212.

35. Ibid., 213.

36. *Black Elk Speaks*, as told to John G. Neihardt (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1932), 79. V. I. Lenin, "The Importance of Gold Now and After the Complete Victory of Socialism," in *The Lenin Anthology*, ed. Robert C. Tucker (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1975), 515; this essay was originally published in *Pravda*, 6–7 November 1921. "When we are victorious on a world scale I think we shall use gold for the purpose of building public lavatories in the streets of some of the largest cities in the world." Until that time, however, Lenin indicated that the emerging Soviet state would need to use its gold for more practical purposes.

37. Bond, *American Kings*, 83–84.

38. Ibid., 91.

39. Harold Williams, ed., *Journal to Stella* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948), 1:254–55.

40. Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels* [1726], ed. Martin Price (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1963), 246. *Gulliver's Travels* was initially published anonymously (under the name Lemuel Gulliver), with one episode (which was considered political satire too dangerous for publication) not included. During the years it was being written, the British government attempted to arrest and prosecute Swift twice for two other publications.

41. Ibid., 262.

42. Ibid., 263.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid., 270.

45. Ibid., 310.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., 311.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

50. Lester J. Cappon, ed., *The Adams-Jefferson Letters* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), 2:307 (hereafter cited as *Adams-Jefferson Letters*).

51. *St. James Chronicle*, 24 July 1762.

52. Bond, *American Kings*, 89.

53. Ibid., 90.

54. Albert Cook Myers, *The Boy George Washington Aged 16 . . . His Own Account of an Iroquois Indian Dance, 1746* (Philadelphia: the author, 1932), 37.

55. John Shebbeare, *Lydia, or Filial Piety* [1755] (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), act 1, p. 34 (hereafter cited as *Lydia*).

56. Ibid., act 2, p. 7.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid., act 3, p. 264.

59. Ibid., p. 266.

60. Bissell, *Indian in English Literature*, 206.

61. Shebbeare, *Lydia*, act 3, p. 279.

62. Ibid., act 4, p. 13–14.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid., act 1, p. 34.

65. Ibid., p. 11.

66. Thomas Jefferson to Roger C. Weightman, 24 June 1826, in *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Andrew A. Lipscomb and Albert E. Bergh (Washington, DC: Jefferson Memorial Assoc., 1903), 16:181-82 (hereafter cited as *Writings of Jefferson*); Jefferson to Edward Carrington, 16 January 1787, in Boyd, *Papers of Jefferson*, 11:49; and H. A. Washington, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: John K. Riker, 1854), 1:444.

67. Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Birth of a Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), 236.

68. Lois Whitney, *Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1934), 118, 120-21, 133-35.

69. Ibid., 272.

70. Ibid., 272-73.

71. Ibid.

72. *European Magazine* [1785], cited in Jay Botsford, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century: The Influence from Overseas* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1924), 92.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

Chapter 4 — Ennobling "Savages"

1. Jean Jacques Rousseau, cited in J. H. Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1950), 187.

2. *The Complete Works of Montesquieu* (London: printed for T. Evans & W. Davis, 1777), 1:27, 142 (hereafter cited as *Works of Montesquieu*).

3. Forbes, "Americanism," 37.

4. For a fuller discussion of these concepts, see ibid.

5. Brandon, *New Worlds for Old*, 104. Since Brandon's main focus was Europe, his treatment of French philosophy was more extensive than the brief sketch we present here.

6. For a survey of Spanish precedents to the Noble Savage, see Benjamin Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1971). Burton cited the example of a forgery of Vespucci's letters, which were originally published in Latin: "These people have neither King, nor Lord, nor do they yield obedience to any one, for they live in their own liberty. . . . They have no judicial system[,] . . . live close to nature without religion; and do not work to obtain worldly possessions" (see "First Contact").

7. John Florio, trans., *Montaigne's Essays* [1910] (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1965), 218.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., 220.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid., 228.

13. John Mohawk, "Native People and the Right to Survive," *Akwesasne Notes* 9 (1977):5.

14. R. W. Frantz, *The English Traveler and the Movement of Ideas: 1660–1732* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1934), 124 (hereafter cited as *English Traveler*).

15. John Locke, *Second Treatise on Civil Government* [1690], chap. 6, par. 57, in *The Development of the Democratic Idea*, ed. Charles Sherover (New York: New American Library, 1979) (hereafter cited as *Second Treatise*).

16. Ibid., chap. 7, par. 87–90.

17. "Second Treatise on Government," *The Works of John Locke* (London: printed for C. & J. Rivington, 1824), 4:402 (hereafter cited as *Works of Locke*). Pages 339–41 of this work are also cited in Frantz, *English Traveler*, 123. See also Locke, *Second Treatise*, chaps. 1–5.

18. Locke, *Second Treatise*, chap. 15, par. 173.

19. Benjamin F. Wright, *American Interpretation of Natural Law* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), 64–71.

20. Benjamin P. Poore, comp., *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the United States* (Washington, DC: U. S. GPO, 1877), 2:1389.

21. Adario was probably a fictionalized character, a literary foil employed by Lahontan to effectively present controversial ideas to Europeans. See Baron Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America . . .* (London: printed for H. Bonwicke, T. Goodwin, M. Wooten, B. Tooke, and S. Manship, 1703), 2:124 (hereafter cited as *Voyages*). See also Percy G. Adams, "Benjamin Franklin and the Travel-Writing Tradition," in *The Oldest Revolutionary: Essays on Benjamin Franklin*, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976).

22. Lahontan, *Voyages*, 2:146.

23. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 41:87.

24. *The Confessions of Jean Jacques Rousseau* (London: W. Glaisher, 1883), 422.

25. Charles M. Sherover, ed., *Of the Social Contract* (New York: Harper & Row Pubs., 1984), book 1, chaps. 1–2.

26. Cited in Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage*, 187.

27. Cited in Bissell, *Indian in English Literature*, 44.

28. Lawrence H. Leder, *Historians of Nature and Man's Nature* (New York: Harper & Row, Pubs., 1973), 4:passim. (hereafter cited as *Historians of Nature*). Bernard Sheehan also examined these themes in a more distinctly American context in *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973).

29. Wallace, *White Roots*, 25.

30. Sherover, *Social Contract*, book 3, chap. 7.

31. Jean Jacques Rousseau, "A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality," *The Social Contract* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1950), 242.

32. Sherover, *Social Contract*, book 1, chaps. 3–4 and book 3, chaps. 4–5.

33. See "The Huron, or Pupil of Nature," *The Best Known Works of Voltaire* (New York: Literary Classics of the U. S., 1940), 212.

34. "Of Positive Laws," *Works of Montesquieu*, vol. 1, book 1, chap. 3, p. 7.
35. "Second Treatise," *Works of Locke*, 4:366 and 2:410.
36. Leder, *Historians of Nature*, 4:1.

Chapter 5 — Errand in the Wilderness

1. Roger Williams, cited in Sidney S. Rider, *The Lands of Rhode Island as They Were Known to Caunonicus and Miantunnomu When Roger Williams Came in 1626* (Providence, RI: the author, 1904), 22 (hereafter cited as *The Lands of Rhode Island*).

2. Vernon Louis Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927), 1:6.

3. Max Savelle, "Roger Williams: A Minority of One," in *The American Story*, ed. Earl S. Miers (Great Neck, NY: Channel Press, 1956), 51.

4. Henry Chupack, *Roger Williams* (New York: G.K. Hall & Co., Twayne Pub., 1969), 63.

5. James Ernst, *Roger Williams: New England Firebrand* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1932), 179 (hereafter cited as *Roger Williams*).

6. For elaboration of this issue, see Jack L. Davis, "Roger Williams Among the Narragansett Indians," *New England Quarterly* 43 (December 1970):593–604 (hereafter cited as "Among the Narragansett").

7. Cyclone Covey, *The Gentle Radical: A Biography of Roger Williams* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1966), 125 (hereafter cited as *Gentle Radical*).

8. Samuel H. Brockunier, *The Irrepressible Democrat: Roger Williams* (New York: Ronald Press, 1940), 47 (hereafter cited as *Irrepressible Democrat*).

9. James L. Giddings, "Roger Williams and the Indians" [1957], typescript, Rhode Island Historical Society, 21 (hereafter cited as Giddings TS).

10. James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnology of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 78–80.

11. Henry Crawford Dorr, "The Narragansetts," *R.I. Hist. Soc. Collections* 7 (1885):187–88. See also "Letter to the General Court of Massachusetts," 5 October 1654, *Narragansett Club Pubs.* 6 (1874):269. We have concentrated on Williams's associations with and ideas relating to Native Americans; for a broader intellectual history of Williams with a different emphasis, see Edmund Morgan, *Roger Williams: The Church and State* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1967).

12. Elizabeth Ola Winslow, *Master Roger Williams* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1957), 133 (hereafter cited as *Master Roger*).

13. Reuben Aldridge Guild, *Footprints of Roger Williams* (Providence, RI: Tibbetts & Preston, 1886), 20.

14. Ernst, *Roger Williams*, 252.

15. William Wood, *New England's Prospect* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977), 80–81.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Howard H. Chapin, *Sachems of the Narragansetts* (Providence, RI: Rhode Island Historical Society, 1931), 7.

19. Covey, *Gentle Radical*, 162.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid., 200.

22. Sidney S. Rider, *The Lands of Rhode Island*, 22.

23. Ibid., 44.

24. Ibid., 49, 53, 78.

25. Ibid., 29.

26. Ibid., 9.

27. Brockunier, *Irrepressible Democrat*, 141.

28. Ernst, *Roger Williams*, 251.

29. Roger Williams, *A Key Into the Languages of America* [1643] (Providence, RI: Tercentenary Committee, 1936), 123.

30. *The Complete Writings of Roger Williams* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), 1:224 (hereafter cited as *Writings of Roger Williams*).

31. Ibid., 225.

32. "Breve Relaziones," 38:264, cited in Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage*, 161.

33. Ibid., 42-43.

34. Cited in Ernst, *Roger Williams*, 276-77.

35. Perry Miller, *Roger Williams: His Contribution to the American Tradition* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1953), 221-22.

36. Edwin M. Poteat, "Roger Williams Redivivus" (May 1940 speech to the Northern Baptist Convention, Atlantic City, NJ), Archives of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence.

37. James Ernst, "Roger Williams and the English Revolution," *R. I. Hist. Soc. Collections* 24 (January 1931):2.

38. Ibid., 8

39. Ibid., 9.

40. Oscar S. Straus, *Roger Williams: The Pioneer of Religious Liberty* (New York: Century Co., 1894), 139 (hereafter cited as *Pioneer of Religious Liberty*).

41. Davis, "Among the Narragansett," 603.

42. *Writings of Roger Williams*, 4:441.

43. Ibid., 4:443.

44. Ibid., 6:269-71.

45. Ibid., 3:250.

46. Ibid., 3:331.

47. Ernst, *Roger Williams*, 445.

48. Winslow, *Master Roger*, 267.

49. *Writings of Roger Williams*, 2:4.

50. Giddings TS, 33.

51. Straus, *Pioneer of Religious Liberty*, 220-24.

52. Bradford F. Swan, "New Light on Roger Williams and the Indians," *Providence Journal*, 23 November 1969, magazine section, 14.

53. Ernst, *Roger Williams*, 500.

54. George Howe, *Mount Hope: A New England Chronicle* (New York: Viking, 1959), 40.

55. Straus has reported that the head of Metacom was sent to Boston and the hands to Plymouth (see *Pioneer of Religious Liberty*, 222); however, the version used in our text is reported in Ernst, *Roger Williams*, 501.

56. Richard Slotkin and James K. Folsom, eds., *So Dreadful a Judgment: Puritan Responses to King Philip's War 1676–1677* (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1978), 3–4. See also Sherburne F. Cook, "Interracial Warfare and Population Decline Among the New England Indians," *Ethnohistory* 20 (Winter 1973):1–24.

57. Benjamin L. Labaree, *America's Nation-Time: 1607–1789* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1972), 53.

58. Straus, *Pioneer of Religious Liberty*, 222.

59. Samuel G. Drake, *Biography and History of the Indians of North America* (Boston: Sanborn, Carter & Bazin, 1857), 37–38.

Chapter 6 — The White Roots Reach Out

1. Canassatego, cited in Carl Van Doren and Julian P. Boyd, eds., *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin 1736–1762* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1938), 75 (hereafter cited as *Indian Treaties*).

2. Colden, *Five Nations*, 2:18–24. Contemporary observers in Colden's time referred to the Haudenosaunee variously as "five" or "six" nations. The Tuscaroras were accepted as the sixth nation around 1725, but had no voting rights in the Confederacy. The Grand Council's legislative process remained much as it had been, with roles for the original five nations (the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks).

3. Van Doren and Boyd, *Indian Treaties*, 75.

4. Cited in Boyd, "Dr. Franklin," 244–45.

5. E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York* (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1853–1887), 6:670–71.

6. Mary E. Fleming Mathur, "Tiyanoga of the Mohawks: Father of the United States," *Indian Historian* 3:2 (Spring 1970):59.

7. Bond, *American Kings*, 118.

8. Grinde, *Iroquois*, 34–36.

9. Ibid. See also Bruce E. Johansen, "The Forgotten Founders: Benjamin Franklin, the Iroquois and the Rationale for the American Revolution," *Four Winds* 2 (1982):9–13.

10. One of the items discussed at the Junto (an intellectual club organized by Franklin that was the predecessor to the American Philosophical Society) in the 1740s was, "Which is the best form of government, and what was that form which first prevailed among mankind?" See "Rules Established for a Club in Philadelphia," Benjamin Franklin Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, reel 11 (hereafter cited as Franklin Papers, Lib. of Cong.).

11. Albert H. Smyth, ed., *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1905–1907), 3:42.

12. Labaree, *Papers of Franklin*, 4:481.

13. Ibid., 482.

14. Van Doren and Boyd, *Indian Treaties*, 128. See also Leonard W. Labaree, ed., *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 197–99. For the first recorded covenant chain rhetoric, see "The Onnodagoes Ansr to ye propasitiones made to ym the 20 of July 1677 . . . In the Court house of Albany ye 21 July 1677," in *The Livingston Indian Records, 1666–1723*, ed. Lawrence H. Leder (New York: Earl M. Coleman Enterprises, 1979), 43. The authors are aware that Iroquois covenant chain rhetoric is not a part of the Great Law of the *Haudenosaunee*, but knowledge of such rhetoric often led American colonists (such as Franklin and Colden) to a realization of some aspects of the Great Law; this facilitated the process of forest diplomacy and, in Franklin's case, the creation of American government. For an examination of Iroquois diplomacy in the colonial period, see Richard Aquila, *The Iroquois Restoration: Iroquois Diplomacy on the Colonial Frontier, 1701–1754* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1983); Jennings, *Iroquois Empire*; and Randolph C. Downes, *Council Fires on the Ohio: A Narrative of Indian Affairs in the Upper Ohio Valley until 1795* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1940). For an interesting article on the nature of cultural exchange in the period, see Daniel K. Richter, "Cultural Brokers and Intercultural Politics: New York Iroquois Relations, 1664–1701," *Journal of American History* 75 (June 1988).

The European rivalry for the fur trade in the seventeenth century made many American Indian nations, especially the Iroquois, a pivotal force in North America. See George T. Hunt, *The Wars of the Iroquois* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1940); Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960); Douglas E. Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk: New England in King Philip's War* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1966); Thomas E. Norton, *The Fur Trade in Colonial New York, 1686–1776* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974); Robert C. Rithie, *The Duke's Province: A Study of New York Politics and Society, 1664–1691* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977); Georgiana C. Nammack, *Fraud, Politics, and the Dispossession of the Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969); Stanley N. Katz, *Newcastle's New York: Anglo-American Politics, 1732–1753* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968); and Patricia U. Bonomi, *A Factious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

15. Van Doren and Boyd, *Indian Treaties*, 128.

16. Ibid., 129.

17. Ibid., 131.

18. "Society of St. Tammany, Constitution and Roll of Members, 1789–1916," Manuscript Division, NYPL (hereafter cited as "Society of St. Tammany").

19. Labaree, *Papers of Franklin*, 5:272.

20. Ibid., Franklin to Colden, 25 October 1753, 5:80.

21. Ibid., 80–81.

22. "Brief Account of Pennsylvania," in *Lewis Evans*, ed. Lawrence H. Gipson (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1939), 92 (hereafter cited as *Lewis Evans*). See also Charles H. McIlwain, ed., *Wraxall's Abridgement of the New York Indian Records, 1678–1751* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915), 240–41.

23. Gipson, *Lewis Evans*, 92.

24. St. Jean de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1926), 170 (hereafter cited as *American Farmer*). Crèvecoeur reported that Hendrick was seated next to a European duchess, who swooned over him at dinner and asked him to escort her to Mohawk country (which he did). She so impressed Hendrick and other Iroquois that they set aside five thousand acres of choice land along the Susquehannah River for "a place of her own where she could raise her wigwam, light her fire, and hang her kettle every time she came to see them" (ibid.).

25. E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *The Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1849), 2:546–51 (hereafter cited as *History of N.Y.*).

26. Tilghman, *Memoir*, 80.

27. O'Callaghan, *History of N.Y.*, 6:567.

28. Beverly McAnear, "Personal Accounts of the Albany Congress of 1754," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 39 (1953):736 (hereafter cited as "Albany Congress of 1754").

29. O'Callaghan, *History of N.Y.*, 869.

30. McAnear, "Albany Congress of 1754," 736–37.

31. *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, PA: Theo. Fenn & Co., 1851), 6:98.

32. Ibid.

33. O'Callaghan, *History of N.Y.*, 889.

34. Labaree, *Papers of Franklin*, 5:387. The term "speaker" is also used in the Iroquois Great Law of Peace, sec. 14 (see Parker, *Constitution*). The authors realize that Parker's version of the Great Law is largely a nineteenth-century translation; however, the salient imagery and concepts contained in this version can be detected in much earlier historical documents.

35. Labaree, *Papers of Franklin*, 5:387–92.

36. John Bigelow, ed., *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1868), 295 (hereafter cited as *Autobiography of Franklin*). According to official accounts, there were about one hundred-fifty to two hundred Iroquois and twenty-five colonists at the meeting.

Historians have debated whether Franklin was the major author of the Albany Plan, or whether that title belonged to Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts. Based on Franklin's "Short Hints" developed before the meeting, we believe that the weight of the evidence indicates his authorship. For an analysis that supports Hutchinson's authorship, see Lawrence H. Gipson, "The Drafting of the Albany Plan of Union: A Problem in Semantics," *Pennsylvania History* 26 (October 1959):292–316. Other works that address this topic include

John R. Alden, "The Albany Congress and the Creation of the Indian Superintendencies," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 27 (September 1940):193-210; Milton Hamilton, *Sir William Johnson, Colonial American, 1738-1763* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1976):100-112; and Richard C. Newbold, *The Albany Congress and Plan of Union of 1754* (New York: Vantage Press, 1955). Newbold analyzed the debate and considered Franklin the primary architect of the plan. Finally, the editors of the Franklin Papers also analyzed this debate and have included the Albany Plan among his works (see Labaree, *Papers of Franklin*, 5:387-92).

37. Henry Steele Commager, *Documents of American History*, 7th ed. (New York: Prentice Hall, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), 111 (hereafter cited as *Documents*). Indeed, when studying the Albany Plan of Union, scholars would do well to examine Wilbur R. Jacobs, ed., *The Appalachian Frontier: The Edmond Atkin Report and Plan of 1755* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), which describes an attempt to unify colonial Indian policy in the aftermath of the Albany meeting.

38. See Clinton Rossiter, "The Political Theory of Benjamin Franklin," in *Benjamin Franklin: A Profile*, ed. Esmond Wright (New York: Hill & Wang, 1970), 179-80.

39. See Boyd, "Dr. Franklin," 239. Other contemporary historians concur in this analysis (for instance, see Arrell M. Gibson, *The American Indian* [Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath Co., 1980], 580-81).

40. See Boyd, "Dr. Franklin," 238-39.

41. Ibid., 246.

42. See Grinde, *Iroquois*, chap. 2.

43. See Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Wilderness Politics and Indian Gifts* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966) for a fuller discussion of these themes.

Chapter 7 – Mohawks, Axes, and Taxes

1. Song from Boston Tea Party, cited in Eldridge Henry Goss, *The Life of Colonel Paul Revere* (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., Gregg Press, 1972), 123-24 (hereafter cited as *Life of Revere*).

2. This chapter appeared in condensed form as "Mohawks, Axes and Taxes," *History Today* (London) 35(April 1985):18-24.

3. The use of a Native American woman as a symbol in revolutionary America is discussed in two articles by E. McClung Fleming: "The American Image as Indian Princess, 1765-1783," *Winterthur Portfolio* 2 (1965):65-81, and "From Indian Princess to Greek Goddess, 1783-1815," *Winterthur Portfolio* 3 (1967):37-66.

4. "Journals of Captain John Montresor 1757-1778" [4 April 1766], *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, 2nd set (New York: Printed for the society, 1868-1949),14:357 (hereafter cited as "Montresor Journals").

5. Ibid., 20 May 1766, 367-68.

6. Ibid., 11 August 1766, 382. For a graphic portrayal of the assembly post and the "Liberty Pole," see the pen and ink drawing, *Liberty Pole, New York* [1770] in P. E. Du Simitière Papers, acc. no. 396.f., vol. 2 (Library Company of Philadelphia).

7. Richard Barry, *Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1942), 338 and chap. 3 (hereafter cited as *Mr. Rutledge*).

8. Esther Forbes, *Paul Revere and the World He Lived In* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1969), 116 (hereafter cited as *Revere World*).

9. Stewart Beach, *Samuel Adams: The Fateful Years, 1764–1776* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1965), 160.

10. Ronald W. Clark, *Benjamin Franklin: A Biography* (New York: Random House, 1983), 204.

11. Ibid.

12. Forbes, *Revere World*, 126.

13. Benjamin W. Labaree, *The Boston Tea Party* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 27–28 (hereafter cited as *Boston Tea Party*).

14. Ian R. Christie and Benjamin W. Labaree, *Empire or Independence: A British-American Dialogue on the Coming of the American Revolution* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1976), 168–72 (hereafter cited as *Empire or Independence*).

15. See Commager, *Documents*, for a documentary treatment of many of these items. Also see Mark Egnal, *A Mighty Empire: The Origins of the American Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988) for an interesting analysis of how those forces committed to growth and expansion in the colonies were critical of British colonial policy long before 1763. For a discussion of the origins of the Committees of Correspondence and Franklin's suggestion in 1754, see E. I. Miller, "The Virginia Committee of Correspondence, 1773–1775," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., 22 (1914):99–113 (hereafter cited as "Virginia Committee").

16. See John R. Bartlett, ed., *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island . . .* (New York: AMS Press, 1968), 7:192 (hereafter cited as *Records of Rhode Island*). Since the testimony in the investigation of the Gaspée incident was marred by perjury, it is difficult to ascertain the disguise of the men through the official record; however, a song composed shortly after the incident claimed that the Sons of Liberty were disguised as sixty-four "Narragansett Indian men." Even before the Gaspée incident, Rhode Islanders had burned the British revenue sloop *Liberty* on 17 July 1769 in protest of Britain's tougher policies on smuggling. We are indebted to Alfred Owen Aldridge for calling our attention to the short story by Nathaniel Hawthorne, "My Kinsman: Major Molineaux," which is an interesting fictional account of the Sons of Liberty dressing as American Indians.

17. The subsequent investigation of the Gaspée incident precipitated the creation of Committees of Correspondence by the Virginia House of Burgesses on 12 March 1773. See *Virginia Gazette*, 18 March 1773.

18. *Providence Gazette*, 12 June 1773.

19. Christie and Labaree, *Empire or Independence*, 171.

20. Labaree, *Boston Tea Party*, 170.
21. Ibid., 133.
22. Goss, *Life of Revere* 123–24.
23. Ibid., 128.
24. Forbes, *Revere World*, 198–99.
25. Christie and Labaree, *Empire or Independence*, 197.
26. Robert J. Taylor, ed., *The Papers of John Adams* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 2:3 (hereafter cited as *Papers of John Adams*).
27. Christie and Labaree, *Empire or Independence*, 198.
28. Ibid.
29. Labaree, *Boston Tea Party*, 331.
30. Labaree, *Papers of Franklin*, 21:177–80.
31. Ibid., 354.
32. Forbes, *Revere World*, 227–28.
33. See Paul W. Conner, *Poor Richard's Politicks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965).
34. "Speech in Convention, January 1775," in *Selected Political Essays of James Wilson*, ed. Randolph G. Adams (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1910), 90.
35. Goss, *Life of Revere*, 429.
36. Crèvecoeur, *American Farmer*, 42–44. The full quote is "*He* is an American, who leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners receives new ones from his new mode of life. . . . The American is a new man, who acts on new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas, and form new opinions" [emphasis in original].
37. Hugh Honour, *European Visions of America* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975), plate 227.
38. Ibid., plates 231, 239.
39. Ibid., plate 220.
40. Ibid., plate 208.
41. Ibid., 8–9.
42. Moses Coit Tyler, *The Literary History of the American Revolution 1763–1783* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1941), 112.
43. Hoxie Neale Fairchild, *The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961), 270–71. The last four lines of this ditty were sent to Johansen in personal communication from John Kahionhes Fadden, 15 October 1989.

Chapter 8 — A New Chapter

1. "Ethnology of the Iroquois Indians of U.S. and Canada," William N. Fenton Papers, box entitled "Correspondence from field, 1939–1941 and Reports to Matthew W. Sterling, 1939–1951," in ms. 20, APS (hereafter cited as Fenton Papers).
2. "Benjamin Franklin's Marginalia, 1770," in Labaree, *Papers of Franklin*, 17:381.

3. For Hancock's speech, see Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington, DC: U. S. GPO, 1904–1905), 3:433 (hereafter cited as *Journals*). For White Eyes's reply, see "Richard Smith's Diary," 16 December 1775, in *Letters of the Delegates to Congress*, ed. Paul H. Smith (Washington, DC: U. S. GPO, 1976–), 2:492 (hereafter cited as *Letters of Delegates*); and Robert Treat Paine to Joseph Palmer, 1 January 1776, cited in the same source (3:5).

4. Lyman H. Butterfield, ed., *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 2:226 (hereafter cited as *Diary of Adams*).

5. Labaree, *Papers of Franklin*, 22:357; and Eric P. Newman, "Franklin Making Money More Plentiful," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 115, no. 5 (October 1971):347. A generation earlier (1754), Franklin advocated colonial unity with the slogan "Join, or die" under a disjointed snake (each piece of which bore the name of a colony). The cartoon appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 9 May 1754. Evidence of the embedding of American Indian ideas into Euro-American society can be seen in the design of money and the creation of patriotic societies such as the Tammany society even before the Revolution; during the Revolution, this process was accelerated. Franklin's knowledge of American Indian ideas was acknowledged by the Tammany society through their frequent references in early meetings to "Anecdotes of Franklin" (see "Society of St. Tammany"). The silver chain with thirteen links has gone unnoticed as an Iroquois symbol, but the Tammany society clearly used it in a Native American context. See Benjamin DeWitt, "An Account of the Interment of the Remains of 11,500 American Seamen . . . Who Fell Victim to the Cruelties of the British on Board Their Prison Ships at Wallabout During the American Revolution" (1808), Library Company of Philadelphia, 66.

6. Daniel J. Boorstin, *America and the Image of Europe* (New York: Meridian Books, 1960), 19.

7. Peter Gay, "Enlightenment Thought and the American Revolution," in *The Role of Ideology in the American Revolution*, ed. John R. Howe (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970), 48.

8. See Benjamin Franklin, "The Internal State of North America" [1786], in *The Revolution in America, 1754–1788*, ed. J. R. Pole (London: Macmillan & Co., 1970), 573.

9. "Letter to Abbe Raynal on the Affairs of North America," in *Writings of Thomas Paine*, ed. Moncure D. Conway (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894–1896), 2:105 (hereafter cited as *Writings of Paine*).

10. Dumas Malone, *Jefferson and His Time* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1962), 3:265–266 (hereafter cited as *Jefferson's Time*).

11. Henry Steele Commager, *Jefferson, Nationalism and the Enlightenment* (New York: George Braziller, 1975), 119 (hereafter cited as *Jefferson and the Enlightenment*).

12. See Samuel Adams to John Adams, Philadelphia, 15 January 1776, in Smith, *Letters of Delegates*, 3:93–94; and Jennings B. Saunders, *The Evolution of Executive Departments of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789* (Chapel Hill: Uni-

versity of North Carolina Press, 1935), 3–4. For a discussion of the evolution of the Albany Plan into the Articles of Confederation, see Julian P. Boyd, *Anglo-American Union: Joseph Galloway's Plan to Preserve the British Empire, 1774–1788* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935).

13. Ford, *Journals*, 6:1086–88. By July 1776, the public mind had been prepared for independence by Paine's *Common Sense*. Franklin had played a key role in "furnishing materials for this work" (see "William Temple Franklin's Notes on Franklin's Life," in Franklin Papers, Lib. of Cong.). For Franklin's knowledge of the Iroquois before the Albany Plan of Union (1754), see Labaree, *Papers of Franklin*, 5:272; and Van Doren and Boyd, *Indian Treaties*, 128. Indeed, Franklin asserted that the debates on the Albany Plan "went on daily, hand in hand with the Indian business" (see Bigelow, *Autobiography of Franklin*, 295).

14. See "Richard Smith's Diary," 11 March 1776," in Smith, *Letters of Delegates*, 3:368.

15. Richard Henry Lee to General Charles Lee, Philadelphia, 27 May 1776, in *Collections of the New York Historical Society* (New York: printed for the society, 1868–1949), 5:46; Caesar Rodney to Thomas Rodney, Philadelphia, 28 May 1776, in Smith, *Letters of Delegates*, 4:99 and 281; and *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 29 May 1776. Benjamin Rush wrote to his wife on 26 May 1776 that the parade was staged in order to impress the "Indian ambassadors now among us" with "an august idea of the military *strength of our province*." See Lyman H. Butterfield, ed., *Letters of Benjamin Rush* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), 1:97 (hereafter cited as *Letters of Rush*).

16. Charles Thomson's "History of the Articles of Confederation," which was secretly written during the Revolution, contains an 11 June 1776 notation entitled "Resolved that a Committee be appointed to prepare and digest the form of a confederation to be entered into between these Colonies." On the next day, Thomson noted that committee members were appointed. On 12 July he made notes of the wording in the draft of Article II of the Articles of Confederation, which stated that the colonies should "Unite themselves so as to never be divided by any act whatsoever, and hereby severally enter into a firm League of friendship with each other" (see Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789, National Archives, M247, roll 22, item 9 [hereafter cited as Continental Congress]). This phraseology was similar to Canassatego's 1744 speech at Lancaster, which was then reiterated by the Americans at the Albany conference of 1775. See also "Josiah Bartlett's Notes on the Plan of Confederation" [12 June–12? July 1776], in Smith, *Letters of Delegates*, 4:199–201 (especially the heading in Bartlett's notes entitled, "By the Albany Plan"). It is probable that Bartlett started these notes the day after the Iroquois chiefs gave the name "Great Tree" to John Hancock during a session of Congress. An editorial note in Smith's *Letters of Delegates* (4:252) stated "there can be no doubt that the members of the committee began their work with a copy of Benjamin Franklin's Proposed Articles of Confederation before them" (see also Ford, *Journals*, 2:195–99). Several passages from Franklin's plan can be found quoted verbatim in the Bartlett and Dickinson drafts, and many others survive with slight variations. Indeed, the fourth, seventh, eighth, and twelfth of Franklin's Thir-

teen Articles were "conspicuously incorporated into the committee's work," according to Smith's editorial note in *Letters of Delegates*, 4:252.

17. For more detail regarding the naming of Hancock by the Onondaga sachem, see Ford, *Journals*, 5:430. Through this ceremony, the Iroquois sachems expressed the same concern about the nature of the executive in the Continental Congress that they had raised the previous year at the 31 August 1775 treaty meeting at Albany, New York (see the report of the treaty in "Proceedings of the Commissioners Appointed by the Continental Congress to Negotiate a Treaty with the Six Nations, 1775," Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774–89, National Archives, M247, roll 144, item 134 [hereafter cited as "Proceedings with the Six Nations"]). It is also interesting to note that Jefferson (author of the Declaration of Independence) and Wilson (principal author of the first draft of the Constitution) both served on the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs in the Continental Congress during 1776 (see Ford, *Journals*, 6:1050). Formal and informal relations with the Iroquois continued throughout the revolutionary era. Not only did an Oneida woman, Polly Cook, serve as Washington's cook during the Revolution, but the Oneidas also brought corn to his troops during the bitter winter at Valley Forge and so enabled the Continental Army to survive. See Cara Richards, *The Oneida People* (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1974), 53–54 (hereafter cited as *The Oneidas*).

18. Ford, *Journals*, 5:430–41.

19. John Adams to Abigail Adams, 10 July 1776, in Butterfield, *The Book of Abigail and John*, 143.

20. Adams, *Defence*, xv–xvi.

21. Ford, *Journals*, 5:573. While the Iroquois did not concern themselves with reading during their Confederacy meetings, they did insist on proper respect and decorum during debates. No Iroquois speaker could be interrupted. The Great Law explicitly stated, "No Lord [sachem] shall ask a question of the body of Confederate Lords when they are discussing a case, question or proposition" (see Parker, *Constitution*, sec. 13).

22. As early as 1635, an Indian observer reported with disgust that everyone talked at once in the Jamestown assembly (which was, of course, the style in the British Commons) and commented that "wee doe not so in our Matchcomaco [council]" (Hawks, *Relation of Maryland*, 38–39). Franklin would contrast the decorum and dignity of Native American "public Councils" and the disorder in the British House of Commons in a similar manner nearly 150 years later (see "Remarks on the Savages of North-America," in *Franklin: Writings*, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay [New York: Library of America, 1987], 970–71).

23. See Smith, *Letters of Delegates*, 5:577–78 (especially the notes on Rush).

24. Ibid.

25. Rush had a lifelong fascination with American Indians and kept detailed notes of his experiences with them. See George W. Corner, ed., *The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), 121–22 (hereafter cited as *Autobiography of Rush*).

26. Gaillard Hunt and James Brown Scott, eds., *The Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787, which Framed the Constitution of the United States of America,*

Reported by James Madison . . . (New York: Oxford University Press, 1920), 583 (hereafter cited as *Debates in Federal Convention*).

27. "Notice Sur Franklin," *Oeuvres Posthumes de [Pierre Jean George] Cabanis* (Paris: Firmin Didot, Père et fils, 1825), 5:245–46 (hereafter cited as *Cabanis*). Apparently, Franklin was fond of using covenant chain rhetoric while in England as well. In the 1760s or early 1770s, Doctor Fothergill and his circle of English friends had given Franklin a silver cream pot, which was inscribed with the motto "Keep bright the chain." See "Codicil to the Last Will and Testament of Benjamin Franklin," Philadelphia, 23 June 1789, in Franklin Papers, Lib. of Cong. ser. 2, reel 9.

28. *Cabanis*, 5:246. Actually, Franklin's knowledge of the Iroquois Indians was well known in Europe, since his article, "Mithologie et Morale Iroquoises," had preceded his visit (see *Ephemerides du Citoyen, ou bibliothèque raisonnée des sciences morales et politiques* 9:1 [1769] in Library Company of Philadelphia). *Ephemerides* was the journal of the French physiocrats (including Quesnay, Du Pont de Nemours, and others), who believed that wealth sprang primarily from the land. The article was prefaced with the comment that although many people read "Mithologie et Morale Iroquoises" as a fable, the editors felt that it should be taken very seriously. Franklin was often very frank with his French friends. After reading the letters by Abraham Mansword (Barbeu Dubourg) in *Ephemerides* 5 (1772), he admitted that the advice to Americans to declare independence was "very good. I hope they will have more of it" (see Franklin to Pierre-Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, 15 June 1772, in Labaree, *Papers of Franklin*, 19:177–78).

29. *Cabanis*, 5:256. After Franklin returned from France, the American Philosophical Society elected several of his European friends to membership; the more notable new members included Cabanis, Condorcet, and La Rochefoucauld (see *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 26 July 1786).

30. Jefferson to Charles Bellini, Paris, 30 September 1785, in Boyd, *Papers of Jefferson*, 8:568.

31. Carl Binger, *Thomas Jefferson: A Well-tempered Mind* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1970), 309 (hereafter cited as *Well-tempered Mind*). For a similar observation of the poverty and injustice among the poor in France, see Jefferson to Madison, Fountainebleau, 28 October 1785, in Boyd, *Papers of Jefferson*, 8:681–83.

32. Josiah Tucker, "Four Tracts on Political and Commercial Subjects" [1776], cited in Russell Barsh and Lawrence Henderson, *The Road: Indian Tribes and Political Liberty* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 5.

33. Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* [1776], in *Tracts of the American Revolution*, ed. Merill Jensen (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1967), 406.

34. Foner, *Complete Writings of Paine*, 1:370.

35. Cappon, *Adams-Jefferson Letters*, 2:291.

36. Jefferson to Madison, 30 January 1787, in Boyd, *Papers of Jefferson*, 11:92–93.

37. Foner, *Complete Writings of Paine*, 1:610,

38. Labaree, *Papers of Franklin*, 20:119–20.

39. See "Thoughts on Government: Applicable to the Present State of

American Colonies'' [1776], in *The Works of John Adams*, ed. Charles F. Adams (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1851), 4:189–200 (hereafter cited as *Works of Adams*); and Butterfield, *The Book of Abigail and John*, 115. Throughout the summer of 1775, Adams had met with the Iroquois missionary, Reverend Samuel Kirkland (an ardent supporter of the American cause who was quite knowledgeable about the Iroquois Confederacy), to develop a diplomatic strategy to insure Iroquois neutrality. Kirkland received frequent visits from Iroquois sachems, and he probably made routine reports about their behavior and habits to the curious Adams. See Walter Pilkington, ed., *The Journals of Samuel Kirkland* (Clinton, NY: Hamilton College, 1980), 120, 93–114. It should also be kept in mind that Adams received intelligence about the Iroquois during 1776 (see Taylor, *Papers of John Adams*, 4:129). Adams remembered and used the lessons from the Iroquois; while pondering the restructuring of American government during the period from 1786 to 1787, he would write that collecting the legislation ''of the Indians would be well worth the pains'' and would aid in the process of creating a new constitution (see Adams, *Defence*, xvii).

It is important to understand that the difference between Euro-Americans and Europeans was not just the introduction of the ''American Indian factor'' into their daily lives but also their attitudes about the nature of land ownership. Most moderate American revolutionaries (according to the Whig view of history) felt that the British Crown had usurped their human and property rights as Englishmen. Adams, among others, eventually argued the position that the tribal structures or ''Ancient Societies'' before the institution of feudal monarchies were important governmental examples for use in constructing a more virtuous and nonautocratic political system. This discussion of ''Ancient Societies'' can be seen as an extension of the desire to ''return'' to a simpler and more virtuous structure in order to eliminate the tyranny of the British monarchy from the American constitutional system. For examples of the ''conservative'' and ''virtuous'' aspects inherent in the evolution of American government, see Gordon Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969) (hereafter cited as *Creation of Republic*); and Joyce O. Appleby, *Materialism and Morality in the American Past* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1974).

As we shall see in a subsequent chapter, Franklin believed that Americans should forsake many more British traditions than just monarchy. He would voice criticism of the British and, indeed, all European governmental systems, because he believed they were not applicable to the American experience (see Franklin's statement at the Constitutional Convention on 28 June 1787, in Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention*. 4 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911), 1:450 (hereafter cited as *Federal Convention*).

40. Conway, *Writings of Paine*, 1:70 (see *Common Sense*).

41. Foner, *Complete Writings of Paine*, 1:610.

42. Ibid.

43. Conway, *Writings of Paine*, 1:70 (see *Common Sense*); and John P. Reid, *The Concept of Liberty in the Age of the American Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

44. Commager, *Jefferson and the Enlightenment*, 119.

45. *Common Sense*, in *The Political Works of Thomas Paine* (New York: Peter Eckler, 1892), 1. That Paine would begin his call to revolution on this theme indicates the popularity of the idea among the colonists at that time. *Common Sense* had a press run of roughly five hundred thousand copies; the Euro-American population was about 2.5 million or fewer. The ratio of copies to literate adults must have been on the order of one copy for every two or three readers.

46. Daniel Conway, *The Life of Thomas Paine* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), 1:88.

47. Ibid., 2:462.

48. Jefferson to Adams, 11 June 1812, in Lipscomb and Bergh, *Writings of Jefferson*, 11:160.

49. Adams to Jefferson, 28 June 28, 1812, ibid., 288. Association with native leaders was a rather routine matter in the late eighteenth century. On 23 December 1785, for example, Adams wrote to Rufus King that "Joseph Brant was yesterday in the Drawing Room. The Ministerial Runners give out that he is come to demand Compensation for the Indian hunting grounds ceded by the English at the Peace of the United States, and to get something for himself as half pay as a Colonel." See Charles B. King, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*. 6 vols. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), 1:118 (hereafter cited as *Rufus King*).

50. Rush to Adams, 12 February 1812, in Butterfield, *Letters of Rush*, 2:1124. In subsequent correspondence to Adams (5 May 1812), Rush referred to Dr. John Witherspoon of New Jersey as the "Scotch Sachem," and later (17 November 1812) to Isaac Norris of Pennsylvania as the "Quaker Sachem" (ibid., 1132 and 1167). Adams had talked of drawing a "veil" over history after the Declaration of Independence. Perhaps he, Jefferson, and Rush were taking the "veil" *away* when they discussed the influence of American Indians and used the word *sachem* as a term of endearment for some of the early revolutionary leaders they knew.

51. John P. Foley, ed., *The Jefferson Cyclopedia* (New York: Harper & Row Pubs., Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1900), 422.

52. Boyd, *Papers of Jefferson*, 20:451-52.

53. Saul K. Padover, *The Complete Jefferson* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1943), 503-505.

54. William Wirt, *The Life of Patrick Henry* (Philadelphia: Desilver, Thomas & Co., 1836), 258-59. In essence, Henry advocated the creation of American *coureurs de bois* [woods runners] and built upon the policies advanced by Archibald Kennedy a generation earlier.

55. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* [1784], cited in Nancy B. Black and Bette S. Weidman, *White on Red* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1976), 109-110.

56. Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Lost World of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1948), 307.

57. Malone, *Jefferson's Time*, 1:267.

58. Binger, *Well-tempered Mind*, 100.

59. Labaree, *Papers of Franklin*, 17:381.

60. Paul L. Ford, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, [illegible]892-1899), 3:189-9[illegible] (hereafter cited as *Writings of T. Jefferson*).

61. The debate over "property" versus "happiness" as a natural right is developed more fully in Johansen, *Forgotten Founders*, 103-108.

62. Allan Ramsay, *Thoughts on the Origin and Nature of Government*, cited in Staughton Lynd, *Intellectual Origins of American Radicalism* (New York: Random House, Pantheon Books, 1968), 85 (marginal notes) (hereafter cited as *Intellectual Origins*).

63. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* [1784], ed. William Peden (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 93 (hereafter cited as *Notes on Virginia*).

64. Ford, *Writings of T. Jefferson*, 3:195n.

65. Paul L. Ford, ed., *The Works of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904-1905), 3:317-29 (hereafter cited as *Works of Jefferson*).

66. Ibid., 341.

67. Charles Thomson to Samuel Rhodes, Easton, 28 July 1757, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 20:3 (October 1896):421-22.

68. Corner, *Autobiography of Rush*, 155.

69. Ford, *Works of Jefferson*, 3:455-58. For Thomson's role in creating the Northwest Ordinance, see *Charles Thomson and the Making of a New Nation, 1729-1824*, by his most recent biographer, James Edwin Hendricks (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1979) (hereafter cited as *Charles Thomson*). Paradoxically, the Northwest Ordinance would repudiate the inclusionary principles of the Iroquois Great Law, since it assumed that Native Americans would no longer be a part of a new United States (*and* that the Iroquois would entertain such an idea).

70. Ford, *Works of Jefferson*, 3:496.

71. Ibid., 499-504. Thomson's footnotes in *Notes on Virginia* also cited Lewis Evans, *Essays Containing An Analysis of the Middle British Colonies in America and of the Country of the Confederate Indians* (published in 1755 by Benjamin Franklin and D. Hall), which is available today from the Library Company of Philadelphia. It contains a detailed analysis of the Iroquois and other native confederacies and, likely, was condensed in Thomson's notes. Actually, the Mingo Confederacy was not identical to the Iroquois Confederacy. In the 1740s, the "Ohio Iroquois or Mingos" sought to emancipate themselves from the Council at Onondaga and kindle their own "fire" in the Ohio Region (western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia). By encouraging Iroquois people to emigrate to the Ohio region, the Iroquois Confederacy fostered a group of Indians "ostensibly Iroquois, but also including Fox Indians, Mahicans and the descendants of captives taken in earlier trade wars" (cited in Michael N. McConnell, "Peoples 'In Between': The Iroquois and the Ohio Indians, 1720-1768," in Richter and Merrell, *Beyond the Covenant Chain*, 98-100).

72. Jefferson to Carrington, 16 January 1787, in Boyd, *Papers of Jefferson*, 11:49.

73. Ford, *Writings of T. Jefferson*, 3:198-99n.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid.

76. "Sketch of Articles of Confederation, submitted by Benjamin Franklin, July 21, 1775," in *Continental Congress,* M247, roll 22, item 9.

77. "Franklin's Articles of Confederation" [1775], in Ford, *Journals,* 2:195–99.

78. Ibid., 177–83. On 18 July 1775, Hancock wrote to General Philip Schuyler that "they have prepared a talk for the Indians, a copy of which I herewith transmit to you, Proper Belts are now" being prepared (Hancock to Schuyler, 18 July 1775, in Philip Schuyler Papers, Manuscript Division, NYPL) (hereafter cited as Schuyler Papers).

79. See "Proceedings with the Six Nations." See also Treaty Council at German Flats, N.Y., 15 August 1775. The use of the term "island" here recalls the Iroquois term for North America (Turtle Island).

80. Ibid., 24 August 1775 at Albany, N.Y. Actually, Abraham was a surprising choice for speaker at this meeting. His adopted brother Hendrick was closely allied with Sir William Johnson, who had met and courted Mary Brant, granddaughter of Hendrick, in 1753. Since Mary Brant was from one of the very prominent Mohawk families and would later become a clan mother, Johnson was able to gain extensive influence on the affairs of the the Six Nations for a generation through her political connections (see Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* [Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972], 30, 72–73).

81. "Proceedings with the Six Nations," 25 August 1775, Albany, N.Y. The Americans used imagery here that can be found in section 57 of the Great Law of Peace. Franklin popularized this image throughout the revolutionary era. The eagle clutching a bundle of thirteen arrows on the United States Great Seal serves as a graphic reminder that Iroquois advice was taken seriously by the colonists (see Parker, *Constitution,* sec. 57).

82. Parker, *Constitution,* sec. 57. This Iroquois image of an eagle clutching arrows would later become a symbol of strength and sovereignty for the United States as it was for the Iroquois (see Hewitt to Parker, 11 September 1912, in Hewitt Letters). There has been some speculation that the "bundle of arrows" imagery (as used by Sir William Johnson and subsequent United States commissioners to express unity) may have reflected "Indian custom or the fasces of ancient Rome," without, however, any supporting evidence that this imagery was derived from the fasces of Rome (see Francis Jennings, ed., *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy* [Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985], 122 [hereafter cited as *Iroquois Diplomacy*]).

83. "Proceedings with the Six Nations." This imagery can be found in section 3 of the Iroquois Great Law (see Parker, *Constitution*).

84. "Proceedings with the Six Nations," 26 August 1775.

85. Ibid., 28 August 1775. This imagery appears to have been drawn from section 2 of the Iroquois Great Law (see also Parker, *Constitution*).

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid., 31 August 1775.

89. Ibid. This reference is to the role of the *Tadodaho* (chief executive) of the Iroquois Confederacy. The imagery is from section 4 of the Great Law (see also Parker, *Constitution*).

90. "Proceedings with the Six Nations," 31 August 1775. For an excellent analysis of the multifaceted Iroquois treaty-making process, see Mary Druke, "Iroquois Treaties: Common Forms, Varying Interpretations," in Jennings, *Iroquois Diplomacy*. It is important to understand that the Iroquois influenced the colonists with their rhetoric and imagery (a statement that stands in contrast to the rather simple assertion that if there had been influence, replication would have occurred).

91. "Proceedings with the Six Nations," 1 September 1775. For Native and Euro-Americans of the revolutionary era, this meeting was of enormous significance. See "American Chronology, Or list of Important . . . Events," *Columbian Magazine* 4 (January 1790):5, which considered it one of the most important events leading to the Revolution. For example, Stockbridge Indians and some Oneidas are reported to have shown Timothy Pickering a "talk from Congress by Mr. Hancock" dated 1775 (see Timothy Pickering Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, reel 62 [5 December 1794], 117). For an excellent anthropological analysis of the Oneidas during this period, see Mary A. Druke, "Structure and Meanings of Leadership among the Oneida Indians during the Mid-Eighteenth Century," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1982).

92. Robert L. Scribner and Brent Tarter, eds., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973–83), 4:175, 187 (hereafter cited as *Revolutionary Virginia*). For an example of Wilson's depth of knowledge on Iroquois matters, see Wilson to John Montgomery, Pittsburgh, 24 August 1775, in Smith, *Letters of Delegates*, 1:706. The Americans again used imagery found in the Iroquois Great Law, sections 1 and 59 (see Parker, *Constitution*). See also an account by Blacksnake, a Seneca, in "Life of Blacksnake," in Lyman Draper Manuscripts, Wisconsin State Historical Society, ser. F, 16:113.

93. Scribner and Tarter, *Revolutionary Virginia*, 4:188. See also section 65 of the Iroquois Great Law (Parker, *Constitution*).

94. Hunt and Scott, *Debates in Federal Convention*, 77. See also, Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, 570; Richard K. Matthews, *The Radical Politics of Thomas Jefferson: A Revisionist View* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1984), 143; and Hendricks, *Charles Thomson*. A few years after his adoption into the Delaware tribe, Thomson wrote *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawnee Indians from the British Interest* (London: J. Wilkie, 1759). Thomson's appendix to this work is cited in Ford, *Works of Jefferson*, 3:454–58, 498–504, and 508–509. It is significant that Jefferson wrote *Notes on Virginia* as a result of a request by Francois de Marbois; in 1784 Marbois and Madison visited the Iroquois while attending the treaty negotiations at Fort Stanwix. However, Madison had taken an interest in American Indians early in life; during his childhood and student years, he had a trusted servant who was called by the Saponi Indian name *Sawney*. The young Sawney was reported to have

threatened the Virginians in 1724 with the wrath of the Iroquois. Perhaps he even discussed the Iroquois League with Madison (see H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* [Richmond, VA: Colonial Press, 1918–19], 4:76–77, 80; and William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal, eds., *The Papers of James Madison* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962–1985], 1:42–43 [hereafter cited as *Papers of Madison*]). Madison's papers also contain the earliest known version (20 January 1775) of Logan's speech. Logan was a Mingo (or part Iroquois) who had suffered the death of his entire family at the hands of unscrupulous non-Indians (see Hutchinson and Rachal, *Papers of Madison*, 136).

95. David Ramsay, *History of the American Revolution* (London: J. Stockdale, 1793), 1:29.

96. David Ramsay, "Dissertation on the Manner of Acquiring the Character and Privileges of a Citizen of the United States" [1802], ms. 34-297, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston.

Chapter 9 — An American Synthesis

1. "American Commissioners to Sachems of Six Nations, Treaty of Johnstown [Pennsylvania], March 9, 1778," Indian Boxes, box 2, Manuscript Division, NYPL.

2. Ford, *Journals*, 6:1078.

3. Dunn and Dunn, *Papers of Penn*, 2:261. For an even more elaborate discussion of the message of peace, see "William Penn to the Kings of the Indians," 18 October 1681 (128).

4. On 8 February 1697, William Penn put forward a "Plan for the Union of the Colonies in America," which "may be usefull to . . . one anothers peace and safety with an universall concurrence." This proposal was made after over a decade of interaction with American Indian confederacies such as the Iroquois and may have reflected Penn's knowledge of American Indian governments. An example of Native American influence on the plan may have been the proposal to send two delegates from each colony to a central place to discuss commerce and defense. Certainly, Penn knew how the confederacies of eastern Indians operated as political societies with sachemships inherited through the female side (O'Callaghan, *N. Y. Colonial Documents*, 4:296–97). For a fuller discussion of these matters by Penn, see "William Penn to the Society of Free Traders, August 16, 1683," in Dunn and Dunn, *Papers of Penn*, 2:448–55.

5. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, 1:55.

6. The Delaware Indians inhabited the region from lower New York State to eastern Maryland (which then included all of eastern Pennsylvania). Penn used the spelling "Tammany" in the original draft of his "Account of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians" (cited in Albert C. Myers, ed., *William Penn's Own Account of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians* [Wilmington, DE: Middle Atlantic Press, 1983], 24–25). Other versions of the name appeared in various early

treaties, documents, and deeds of this period (1683–97): Tamine, Tamene, Tamina, Tamanee, Tamanen, Tamanend, and Taminent. In the first decade of colonial Pennsylvania history, Tammany was a leading chief in the Bucks County area. Although he was usually depicted as an amicable chief by the Tammany society, it appears that he may have been initially troublesome to the early settlers of Pennsylvania.

7. Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), 18:289 (hereafter cited as *Dictionary*).

8. *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (1852), 1:447.

9. For a description of an early New England May Day celebration with American Indians, see Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969).

10. Edwin P. Kilroe, *St. Tammany and the Origin of the Tammany Society* (New York: private printing, 1913), 26–36.

11. See Aubrey C. Land, ed., *Letters from America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 58–59, and *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, 4 May 1772.

12. "Montresor Journals," 4 April 1766, 14:357 and 20 May 1766 14:367–68. For further details on the life of Allicocke, see Donald A. Grinde, Jr., "Joseph Allicocke: African-American Leader of the Sons of Liberty," *Afro-Americans in New York: Life and History* 14:2(July 1990):61–69.

13. Barry, *Mr. Rutledge*, 338 and chap. 3. See also Miller, "Virginia Committee," 99–113; and Bartlett, *Records of Rhode Island*, 7:192.

14. *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, 4 May 1772. It is possible that the Tammany society's development in New England may have been a continuation of Boston's Guy Fawkes celebrations. In many ways the Tammany society foreshadowed the "Young America Movement" of Stephen A. Douglas in the mid-nineteenth century.

15. See "Extracts from the Journal of Miss Sarah Eve, May 1, 1773," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 5:1(January 1881):29–30.

16. *New York Gazetteer*, 2 December 1773, and *New York Journal*, 16 December 1773.

17. Butterfield, *Diary of Adams*, 2:226. Adams also sent an account of this dinner to his wife (see John Adams to Abigail Adams, 24 January 1776, in Butterfield, *The Book of Abigail and John*, 114). While some historians have maintained that the Tammany society was founded in opposition to the Society of the Cincinnati, the two groups often cooperated. In New York, for instance, each society regularly drank toasts to the other. In 1790 the sagamore (president) of the Tammany society sent a peace pipe as a pledge of friendship to the president of the Cincinnati, Baron von Steuben. Also, Washington, president general of the Cincinnati, was made an honorary sagamore of the Tammany society. (See *New York Genealogical and Biological Record*, 1937, 1:45–50; and Edgar Erskine Hume, ed., *George Washington's Correspondence Concerning the Society of the Cincinnati* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1941], xviii.)

18. Butterfield, *The Book of Abigail and John*, 113–14. In a letter to Abigail dated 28 April 1776, Adams again referred to this letter (ibid). His comment

regarding the racial stock of the Caughanawaga chiefs was not unusual. A century earlier, John Josselyn remarked that the "chief . . . among the *Mohawks* now living is a Dutchman's Bastard" (see Paul J. Lindholdt, ed., *John Josselyn, Colonial Traveler: A Critical Edition of Two Voyages to New-England* [Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1988], 103).

19. Butterfield, *The Book of Abigail and John*, 114. See also Adams, *Works*, 4:292, 298, 398, 511, and 566-67 for some examples from the *Defence* of his opinions and reports about American Indian governments (particularly those of the Mohawks and the Iroquois).

20. Ford, *Journals*, 5:690-91.

21. Ibid., 8:398.

22. For a deeper analysis of these issues and events, see Gordon S. Wood, ed., *The Confederation and the Constitution: The Critical Issues* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1973); and Forrest McDonald, *E Pluribus Unum* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965). The term *league of friendship* appeared in Article III of the final draft of the Articles of Confederation (9 July 1778) (see Charles Thomson's 12 February 1781 entry in "History of Articles of Confederation," in *Continental Congress*).

23. See William Saunders, ed., *State Records of North Carolina* (New York: AMS Press, 1968-78), 11:461, 477.

24. Lyman H. Butterfield, ed., *Adams Family Correspondence* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963-73), 2:229-30.

25. See *Apocalypse de Chiokoyhekoy, Chef des Iroquois* (1777), 93 (Library Company of Philadelphia) (hereafter cited as *Chiokoyhekoy*); and Dwight W. Hoover, *The Red and the Black* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1976), 56-57. The prophet bird, *Tsklelei* (news-carrier), was an image used in the rhetoric of Iroquois diplomacy. For examples of how this image was used by the American commissioners and the Iroquois at the Albany Conference of 1775, see Peter Force, ed., *American Archives* (Washington, DC: U.S. GPO, 1837-53), 4th ser., 3:479 and 491.

Silas Deane (one of the American commissioners to France in 1777) was also on a congressional committee that conferred with Reverend Samuel Kirkland about the 1775 "Prophet Bird" speech. It may be surmised that Deane (as well as Franklin and Arthur Lee, the other commissioners to France) co-authored or assisted in the preparation of *Chiokoyhekoy* since they were all familiar with Iroquois ideas and imagery (see Ford, *Journals*, 2:186). The pamphlet was a clever combination of ideas and images designed to allay Spanish, French, and Dutch fears about American independence. While independence was being debated in 1776, it was noted that France and Spain might be jealous of the United States, since it might "one day . . . strip them of all their American possessions" (see ibid., 6:1088). It also appealed to French conceptions about the "Noble Savage," which were so ardently advanced by Rousseau and other philosophers. J. N. B. Hewitt, the Tuscarora anthropologist, recorded the story of the "Prophetic Bird-like Being" in the nineteenth century; this being could foresee events important to the survival of the Tuscarora people (see J. N. B. Hewitt Collection, ms. 422, NAA, Smithsonian Institution, Washington). For a contemporary version of the Iroquois apocalyptic vision, see Wallace (Mad Bear) Anderson, "The Lost Brother: An Iroquois Prophecy of the Serpents," in *The Way: An Anthology of American Indian Literature*, ed. Shirley H. Witt and Stan Steiner (New York: Random House, 1972), 243–47. For a more detailed account and interpretation of the religious revitalization movement of the Iroquois led by the Seneca prophet, Handsome Lake, see Wallace, *Rebirth of the Seneca*.

26. Ford, *Journals*, 9:854–55 (1 November 1777).

27. For an account of the Oneidas' gift of corn to the troops at Valley Forge, see Richards, *The Oneida*, 53-54. The bundle of arrows imagery can be found in section 57 of the Great Law of the Iroquois (see Parker, *Constitution*). Wilson and Jefferson were on the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs in the Continental Congress during 1776 (see Ford, *Journals*, 6:1065). Formal and informal relations with the Iroquois would continue throughout the Revolution.

28. Quoted from *Military Journal of George Ewing* [1928], in *The Writings of George Washington*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington, DC: U.S. GPO, 1931–44), 11:342 (hereafter cited as *Writings of Washington*). It should be noted that as Washington and his commanders courted their Iroquois allies through the Tammany society, the Confederacy had split, with many of its western-most members forming alliances with the British. The warfare was savage at times. The infamous Sullivan-Clinton campaign of 1779 devastated fourteen Iroquois towns—the most extensive wartime devastation of the American countryside up to that time and comparable to General Sherman's march to the sea during the United States Civil War. Ironically, the Revolution that did so much to sustain Iroquois thought in the world of ideas was accompanied by the breakdown of the Confederacy as a functioning political system. An interesting study of this campaign has been made by Lilias Jones ("The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign of 1779: The Breakup of the League of the Iroquois," December 1975, ms. draft supplied by author).

29. See Treaty with the Delawares of September 17, 1778, 7 stat. 13. No doubt, Charles Thomson, an adopted Delaware and secretary to Congress, had a major role in the negotiation and recording of this treaty.

30. Saul K. Padover, ed., *The Washington Papers* (New York: Harper & Row Pub.,1955), 352; and Richard B. Morris, *The Forging of a Nation, 1781–1789* (New York: Harper & Row Pub., 1987), 270–71.

31. For an account of a Tammany celebration in Georgia, see *Augusta Chronicle*, 15 May 1790; and Marcus W. Jernegan, "The Tammany Societies of Rhode Island," *Papers from the Historical Seminary of Brown University* (1897), vol. 8 (hereafter cited as "Tammany Societies of R. I."). For an account of a Tammany society meeting in Ohio in 1786, see S. P. Hildreth, *Pioneer History* (Cincinnati: H. W. Derby & Co., 1848), 143 (hereafter cited as *Pioneer History*).

32. *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, 4 May 1772.

33. *Freeman's Journal*, 7 May 1783. Burying the hatchet, of course, is part of the Iroquois story of the creation of the Great Law of Peace (see Parker, *Constitution*, sec. 65).

34. *Freeman's Journal*, 7 May 1783; this is also quoted in Thompson West-

cott, *A History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Brinton Coxe, 1884), 2:560–61 (hereafter cited as *History of Philadelphia*). For a brief account of the festivities and proceedings, see *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 3 May 1783.

35. *Freeman's Journal*, 7 May 1783. These events are also related in Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 2:561; and Francis Von A. Cabeen, "The Society of the Sons of Saint Tammany of Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 26:2 (July 1902):216–19.

36. *Pennsylvania Packet*, 6 May 1784, and *Freeman's Journal*, 5 May 1784; the accounts in both newspapers used exactly the same words. See also Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 3:565.

37. Ibid.

38. *Virginia Gazette*, 23 April 1785, and Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, eds., *The Diaries of George Washington* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976–79), 4:132. For a general discussion of the origins of the United States Constitution, see Beeman, *Beyond Confederation*.

39. Madison left a clear record of his opinions regarding conditions of the time. The following remarks are quoted in Hunt and Scott, *Debates in Federal Convention*, p. 6).

> It required but little time after taking my seat in the [Virginia] House of Delegates in May 1784 to discover that, however favorable the general disposition of the state might be towards the Confederacy the legislature retained the aversion of its predecessors to transfers of power from the state to the government of the union; notwithstanding the urgent demands of the Federal treasury; the glaring inadequacy of the authorized mode of supplying it, the rapid growth of anarchy in the Federal system, and the animosity kindled among the states by their conflicting regulations.

Two other future presidents, Jefferson and Monroe, had planned a visit to Iroquois country in 1784, but Jefferson's appointment as ambassador to France intervened; Monroe made the trip without Jefferson. See Stuart G. Brown, ed., *The Autobiography of James Monroe* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1959), 38–39.

40. Madison to Jefferson, 20 August and 15 September 1784, in *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, ed. William C. Rives and Philip R. Fendall (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1865), 1:101. For a report of Madison's journey to the Oneidas as well as Monroe's trip, see Madison to Jefferson, 11 October 1784 (Boyd, *Papers of Jefferson*, 7:439–41). For an analysis of the "political" importance of the Tammany society in the formation of the Anti-Federalist or "Democratic" Party, see *Freeman's Journal or the North American Intelligencer*, 10 April 1805. In the *Aurora and Pennsylvania Gazette*, 14 May 1808, an historical retrospective of the Tammany society pointed out that it had been "the principle rallying point of republicanism through the political storms of the past years" and had tried desperately to provide informed public opinion after the American Revolution on "the occupation of western posts—British depredations, and the treaty intrigues of 1793–1794 [Jay Treaty]."

41. Eugene P. Chase, ed., *Our Revolutionary Forefathers: The Letters of Francois, Marquis de Barbe-Marbois* (Freeport, NY: Ayer Co. Pub., Books for Libraries, 1969), 191–93 (hereafter cited as *Letters of Marquis de Barbe-Marbois*); and Irving Brant, *James Madison* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1941–61), 1:330–31 (hereafter cited as *Madison*).

42. Chase, *Letters of Marquis de Barbe-Marbois*, 211–12.

43. Brant, *Madison*, vol. 1, chap. 21.

44. *Independent Gazetteer*, 22 April 1786. The newspaper's language was similar to the imagery of the Iroquois Great Law (see Parker, *Constitution*, sections 3, 57, 59, and 65).

45. *Independent Gazetteer*, 22 April 1786. This speech was rich in Iroquois imagery. "Burying the hatchet" is a phrase that came into English via the Great Law (section 65). The tree-planting image as a metaphor for federal union is also contained in this section. The concept of kindling a fire under the tree can be found in section 3 (see Parker, *Constitution*).

46. *Virginia Gazette*, 24 May 1786. This imagery closely resembles sections 2 and 3 of the Iroquois Great Law (see Parker, *Constitution*). Edward Telfair (delegate from and later governor of Georgia) was present at Cornplanter's speech and, no doubt, was influenced by it; while governor, he was made grand sachem at the 1790 Tammany Day's celebration in Augusta. At that celebration, a toast was offered to American Indians "sent to the great council fire at the White Town" in recognition of their contributions (see *New York Journal*, 16 July 1790 and *Augusta Chronicle and Gazette of the State*, 15 May 1790).

47. *Pennsylvania Evening Herald*, 6 May 1786.

48. Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 3:574.

49. *Pennsylvania Evening Herald*, 6 May 1786. Apparently, Franklin was a member of the Constitutional Sons of Saint Tammany, since he was frequently toasted as a "brother." On the eve of the Constitutional Convention, the Tammany society supported their "brother's" concept of a unicameral legislature.

50. *Pennsylvania Packet*, 5 June 1786. For an account of the Ohio celebration, see Hildreth, *Pioneer History*, 143. For an account of the Tammany society in New England, see Jernegan, "Tammany Societies of R.I."

51. *Pennsylvania Packet*, 11 May 1787. In the 10 April 1805 issue of the *Freeman's Journal*, the New York Tammany society was labeled a votary of "mummery," since it was fast becoming a political machine.

52. Alan Leander MacGregor, "Tammany: The Indian as Rhetorical Surrogate," *American Quarterly* 35:4 (Fall 1983):391 (hereafter cited as "Tammany").

53. Ibid., 392.

54. Leland D. Baldwin, *The Whiskey Rebels: The Story of a Frontier Uprising* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1939), 83–85, 91.

55. MacGregor, "Tammany," 400. For an account of the Tammany society's role in this affair, see *Freeman's Journal*, 10 April 1805.

56. MacGregor, "Tammany," 400–401. See also George Clinton Densmore Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927–49), 1:342, 346–48.

57. Quoted in Arthur H. Shaffer, *The Politics of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 10–11.

58. C. G. Jung, *Contributions to Analytical Psychology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1928), 139.

59. James Carson, "An Oration on the Past and Present State of Our Country" (Philadelphia: Robert Cochran, 1802), 7 (Library Company of Philadelphia).

60. Ibid., 8.

61. Ibid., 9.

62. Ibid., 14–16.

Chapter 10 — Kindling a New Grand Council Fire

1. Adrienne Koch, ed., *Notes on Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 Reported by James Madison* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1966), 85 (hereafter cited as *Debates*). The official government interpretation of the origins of the United States Constitution can be found in former Chief Justice Warren E. Burger's foreword to *We the People of the United States: Official Commemorative Edition, The Constitution of the United States* (Washington, DC: Citicorp/Citibank and the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution, 1986). Burger, who served as chairman of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution, wrote that there was no nation in the "world that governed with separated powers and divided powers providing checks and balances on the exercise of authority by those who governed" in the final quarter of the eighteenth century; in effect, he chose to ignore the existence of the Iroquois Confederacy and, instead, only traced the roots of the Constitution "back to *Magna Charta* and beyond." Burger was either unfamiliar with or uninterested in John Adams's call in 1787 for a "more accurate investigation of the forms of governments of the . . . Indians" in framing a new constitution or his observation that the separation of powers in American Indian governments was "marked with a precision that excludes all controversy" (see Adams, *Works*, 4:296–98). According to the former chief justice, the United States Constitution was "the first of its kind in human history." Other recent works regarding the Constitution that ignore Native American influence include Philip B. Kurland and Ralph Lerner, eds., *The Founders' Constitution*. 5 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), and Beeman, *Beyond Confederation*.

For recent literature with another opinion on the controversy regarding the Native American roots of American government, see Grinde, *Iroquois*; Johansen, *Forgotten Founders*; Wilbur Jacobs, *Dispossessing the American Indian* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1985) (hereafter cited as *Dispossessing the Indian*); Special Constitution Bicentennial Edition, 1988 of *Northeast Indian Quarterly* 4:4 (Winter 1987), as well as 5:1(Spring 1988) of the same journal; Tooker, "U.S. Constitution"; Grinde, "Iroquoian Political Concept"; Robert Venables, "The Founding Fathers: Choosing to Be Romans," *Northeast Indian Quarterly* 6:4

(Winter 1989) (hereafter cited as "Choosing to Be Romans"); Johansen and Grinde, "Native American Precedents"; and Johansen, "Native American Societies."

2. Benjamin Franklin, 28 June 1787, in Farrand, *Federal Convention*, 1:450. After reiterating his opinions regarding the inapplicability of European governmental systems to the new nation, Franklin wrote three cryptic letters to "Indians" two days later. For an example of one of these letters, which contains Iroquois rhetoric, see Franklin to Cornstalk, 30 June 1787, Franklin Papers, Library of Congress.

3. *The American Museum: Or Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces, &c Prose and Poetical* 1:4(1787):310 (in APS) (hereafter cited as *American Museum*).

4. Ibid. See also, Parker, *Constitution*, sec. 57.

5. J. N. B. Hewitt to Dr. George W. Beaver, 16 January 1913, Hewitt Letters, ms. 427, box 2. Organizations along kinship lines are still strong in many national and international societies—the Catholic Church with its legal fiction of "fathers," "sisters," and so forth being one of the most salient examples.

6. See Charles Pinckney's statement on the intellectual origins of the Constitution and on the difficulty expected "from the extent of country to be governed," in *Charleston Columbian Herald*, 9 June 1788.

7. Malone, *Dictionary*, 11:325. See also Leonard Levy et al., eds., *Encyclopedia of the American Constitution* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1986) for a fuller discussion of the founders' experiences with Native American affairs.

8. *American Museum* 1(May 1787):477.

9. "Freemasonry Among the Indians," *Chicago Tribune*, 12 October 1890.

10. Arthur C. Parker, "The Age-Old Appeal of Universal Freemasonry," speech given at Saint Albans, Vermont, 15 October 1947, in A. Parker Papers, box 11, folder 16, Special Collections, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester (hereafter cited as A. Parker Papers). See also another speech by Parker, "American Indian Freemasonry, 1919," in A. Parker Papers, box 8, folder 28.

11. Timothy Pickering to Rufus King, 4 June 1785, in King, *Rufus King*, 1:107.

12. For a more detailed examination of some of these questions, see Hendricks, *Charles Thomson*.

13. For insights into the development of American government, see Wood, *Creation of Republic*; Jackson T. Main, *The Sovereign States* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1973); Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950); Forrest McDonald, *We the People* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958); and Peter S. Onuf, *Statehood and Union: A History of the Northwest Ordinance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

14. Chevalier de Chastellux to General Philip Schuyler, 18 February 1782, in Schuyler Papers, box 35. Chastellux was quite informed about the American scene, since he was, by this time, nearly finished writing his American travel book, *Travels in North America, 1780, 1781, 1782* (2 vols., ed. Howard C. Rice, Jr. [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1963]).

15. "Speech of Hon. Charles Pinckney," 14 May 1788, *American Museum*

4:3(September 1788):157. For an interesting analysis of how the founding fathers examined Native American societies and then allegedly embraced a classical model, see Venables, "Choosing to Be Romans."

16. "Notes of Charles Pinckney," in James Wilson Papers, Manuscript Division, HSP (hereafter cited as Wilson Papers).

17. David Ramsay, "An Address to the Freemen of South Carolina on the Subject of the Federal Constitution . . . 1788 by Civis," in *Pamphlets of the Constitution of the United States*, ed. Paul L. Ford (New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), 373.

18. George Mason to George Mason, Jr., Philadelphia, 20 May 1787, in George Mason Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington.

19. Mason to Mason, Jr., 1 June 1787, ibid.

20. See Adams, *Defence*, 176, xii–xv, 369; this work also appears in Adams, *Works of Adams*, 4:276, 287–92, 298–302, 382, 511. Jack P. Greene has called Adams's *Thoughts on Government and Defence* "two of the most significant works" in "the discussion of the problem of forming new constitutions" (see *The Intellectual Heritage of the Constitutional Era* [Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1986], 54). For a more detailed treatment of this era, see also Leonard W. Levy, ed., *Essays on the Constitution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969); J. R. Pole, ed., *The American Constitution: For and Against* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1987); and Clinton Rossiter, *1787: The Grand Convention* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1966).

21. Farrand, *Federal Convention*, 1:66. The term *Confederate Republic* had been used in accounts describing the Iroquois in the 1740s (see "Lewis Evans' Brief Account of Pennsylvania," in Gipson, *Lewis Evans*).

22. *American Museum* 1(June 1787):565.

23. Hunt and Scott, *Debates in Federal Convention*, 77; see also Harold C. Styrett, ed., *Papers of Alexander Hamilton* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961–87), 4:166–67 (hereafter cited as *Papers of Hamilton*). In his 7 June 1787 notes, Hamilton used "Ind" as an abbreviation for "Indians." However, the editors of his papers have interpreted that same notation in his notes on James Wilson's speech the following day to mean "independence" ("Union basis of our oppos & Ind"). Wilson, of course, was thoroughly familiar with Iroquois imagery. In 1775 he had traveled to Pittsburgh to negotiate a treaty with the Iroquois and the western nations; he reported that "the idea of the union of the colonies struck" the Iroquois "forcibly." Wilson was also present in 1776 when the Iroquois visited Congress and named John Hancock the "Great Tree." Just three weeks after the Declaration of Independence (26 July 1776), Wilson argued in a debate over the Articles of Confederation that "Indians know the striking benefits of Confederation"— they "have an example of it in the union of the Six Nations" (quoted from Ford, *Journals*, 6:1078). The imagery referring to unity and burying differences closely parallels section 65 of the Great Law of the Iroquois (see Parker, *Constitution*).

24. *Georgia Gazette*, 27 November 1787.

25. *American Museum* 2(July 1787), 86.

26. Ibid. George Washington recommended the *American Museum* to his

acquaintances (see Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, 29:521). For quotes from "Remarks Concerning the Savages," see Benjamin Franklin, *The Bagatelles from Passy* (New York: Eakins Press, 1967), 3–4.

27. See Treaty at Hopewell, article 12, 7 stat. 18.

28. For an example of the use of an American Indian motif in American publications of the time, see *American Museum* 1(1787):477. For an assessment of the role of *Defence* at the Constitutional Convention by John Adams's grandson, Charles Francis Adams, see Adams, *Works of Adams*, 4:276. For an analysis of the impact of *Defence* at the start of the Constitutional Convention, see Madison to Jefferson, Philadelphia, 6 June 1787, in Boyd, *Papers of Jefferson*, 11:401–402.

29. Adams, *Works of Adams*, 4:292. The Anti-Federalists believed the *Defence* was very influential at the Constitutional Convention (see a series of Anti-Federalist letters by Centinel in *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer* and *Philadelphia Freeman's Journal*, October 1787–April 1788; see also, Herbert J. Storing, *What the Anti-Federalists Were For* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981], 55). In a 2 June 1787 letter to the English radical thinker Richard Price, Rush asserted that *Defence* was having a valuable effect upon the Constitutional Convention (see Butterfield, *Letters of Rush*, 1:418). In fact, Adams himself stated that the *Defence* "was put into the hands of the members" of the convention "then sitting for the formation of the Constitution in 1787" (see Adams to Mercy Warren, 20 July 1807, in *Correspondence between John Adams and Mercy Warren*, ed. Charles F. Adams [New York: Ayer Co., Pub., Arno Press, 1972], 332 [hereafter cited as *Adams-Warren*]). Adams stated that upon his return to the United States, he heard but "one voice concerning my book," which was that "people believed the Convention that formed the National Constitution had been too much influenced by Mr. Adams's book" (see *Adams-Warren*, 333). See also Edward Handler, *America and Europe in the Political Thought of John Adams* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964). For a thorough biographical treatment of Adams, see Page Smith, *John Adams* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1962).

30. Adams, *Works of Adams*, 4:292.

31. Ibid., 4:296.

32. Adams, *Defence*, cited in ibid., 4:296, 279.

33. For a copy of the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776, see Francis N. Thorpe, ed., *The Federal and State Constitutions: Colonial Charters and Other Laws*. 7 vols. (Washington, DC: U.S. GPO, 1909), 5:3084–92. For mention of the Iroquois "Council of Elders," see Joseph F. Lafitau, *Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times*. 2 vols., ed. William N. Fenton and Elisabeth L. Moore (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1974–77), 1:295–97. Adams stated that "the only valuable part of the British constitution" was "its republican aspect" (i.e., the House of Commons and certain implied human rights); see "Thoughts on Government [1776]," in Adams, *Works of Adams*, 4:193–200.

34. See Adams, *Works of Adams*, 4:279, 581, 389–90 for references to the favorable position of Turgot and Franklin toward unicameral legislatures.

Adams wrote to Warren of his opposing position on 20 July 1807: "I have always reprobated a government that is a sovereignty in a single representative assembly, in opposition to Franklin, Paine, Matlock, Young, Lieutenant-Governor Cushing, and even Samuel Adams as well as Mr. Turgot" (see Adams, *Adams-Warren*, 325–26). It was likely that Turgot would have gained familiarity with the structure of Iroquois government through discussions with Franklin, since it has been reported that Franklin talked frequently, in the French salons during the 1770s and 1780s, about American Indians and the Iroquois. For an insight into these discussions about the Iroquois, see *Cabanis*, 5:256.

35. Adams, *Works of Adams*, 4:296, 298, 511, 566–67.

36. Ibid., 274, 298.

37. See "Extract of a Letter of M. Turgot to Dr. Richard Price . . . 1778," in ibid., 4:278–81. Adams seems to have visited Dr. Price on several occasions (see Adams to Jefferson, 3 October 1785, in Cappon, *Adams-Jefferson Letters*, 1:78).

38. Richard Price, "Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution" (Boston: Powars & Willis, 1784); this essay was mentioned in Adams, *Works of Adams*, 4:273, 402–403. No doubt, Franklin was familiar with these criticisms by Turgot and Price and, consequently, favored a unicameral legislature, because he believed it to be the form of government practiced by the Iroquois.

39. Adams, *Works of Adams*, 4:296.

40. Ibid., 4:511.

41. Ibid. See also Lewis Henry Morgan, *League of the Iroquois* (Secaucus, NJ: Carol Publishing Group, Citadel Press, 1962), which includes Morgan's description of Iroquois governance (54–77) and specific mention of fifty sachemships (p. 62). The ethnologists who place so much emphasis on Morgan's work should also be able to appreciate the insights of Adams and other founders, including Franklin, who observed the Iroquois and other native societies many years before anthropology became an organized academic discipline. See also Adams, *Works of Adams*, 4:301, 398, 510–11.

42. Adams, *Works of Adams*, 4:511, 566–67. Other sources have reported on the "White Dog Sacrifice" without reference to Adams's insights (see Elisabeth Tooker, "The Iroquois White Dog Sacrifice in the Latter Part of the Eighteenth Century," *Ethnohistory* 12:2 [Spring 1965]:129–40 [hereafter cited as "White Dog Sacrifice"]). It is generally believed that the key to the structure of the Iroquois League was the enlistment or Roll Call of the Chiefs of the Confederacy, which was first described by Morgan in his initial field trips to the Tonawanda Seneca Reservation in 1845. Since Morgan's time, other independent studies have confirmed his research (see, for example, Tooker, "League of Iroquois," 418–41).

43. It may be surprising that Adams reserved special scorn for the work of Locke. In commenting on Locke's "oligarchical sovereignty," the "plan of legislation for Carolina," in which he assigned "legislative authority" to the "proprietors," Adams wondered who Locke thought "would live under his government? He should have created a new species of being to govern before he instituted such a government" (see Adams, *Works of Adams*, 4:463–64).

44. Adams, *Defence*, in Adams, *Works of Adams*, 4:511.

45. Koch, *Debates*, 404.

46. Adams, *Works of Adams*, 4:276. Just a year before he wrote *Defence*, Adams received a visit from the Mohawk leader Joseph Brant at his residence in Boston; perhaps they talked of the Iroquois system of government. See "John Adams to Rufus King, 23 December 1785," in King, *Rufus King*, 1:118.

47. King, *Rufus King*, 1:613 (according to notes taken by Rufus King on 5 July).

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid., 619.

50. Farrand, *Federal Convention*, 1:641.

51. Hunt and Scott, *Debates in Federal Convention*, 583. For an account of an Iroquois sachem advising that the "day will end well" since "Yonder Sun rose clear this morning," see Corner, *Autobiography of Rush*, 121–22.

52. See "Talk to the Old Chief," 30 June 1787, Franklin Papers, Library of Congress. The noted political scientist Clinton Rossiter has stated that Franklin's role at the convention was extremely important: "Franklin made rich contributions to the theory and practice of federalism." He "was far ahead of the men around him in abandoning provincialism." See Clinton Rossiter, *Seedtime of the Republic* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1953), 306.

53. Franklin to Cornstalk, Cherokee chief, 30 June 1787, Franklin Papers, Library of Congress. Cornstalk was a popular Tammany society name, since the real Cornstalk had gained fame as a "patriot" during the American Revolution; he was brutally murdered by the British in 1777 while trying to maintain the neutrality of his tribe (see "Sketch of Cornstalk," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Quarterly* 21:4 [Fall 1912]:245–62). Henry Steele Commager has commented on the ways in which European perceptions of American Indians figured into the American Revolution and the Constitution (see *The Empire of Reason: How Europe Imagined and America Realized the Enlightenment* [New York: Doubleday & Co., 1977], especially chaps. 3 and 5).

54. *American Museum* 2(July 1787). Rush maintained an avid interest in American Indians. See Benjamin Rush Papers, ms. 1051, "Commonplace Book, 1792–1813," 127 in APS. Rush met with the Creek chief Alexander M'Gillvray in Philadelphia just two days before M'Gillvray arrived in New York City to negotiate an important treaty with the new federal government (see Corner, *Autobiography of Rush*, 188). Rush also maintained that it was better to teach American students "the Indian languages of our country than to speak or write Latin" (see Butterfield, *Letters of Rush*, 1:607).

55. *American Museum* 2(August 1787):201.

56. Farrand, *Federal Convention*, 3:138.

57. Ibid., 551.

58. Ibid., 138–40. During the early debates on the Constitution, James Wilson "opposed the annihilation of the state governments," saying that the freedom of the people "depended on their existence in full vigour" (p. 411).

For a detailed analysis of the importance of unity in the eighteenth century, see Harry M. Ward, *Unite or Die: Intercolonial Relations, 1690–1754* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1971). For an excellent review of the constitution-making process in the British Empire, see Jack P. Greene, *Peripheries and Center: Constitutional Development in the Extended Polities of the British Empire and the United States, 1607–1788* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1986) (hereafter cited as *Peripheries and Center*). Wilson's conception of the Iroquois Confederacy ignored the Iroquois' own problems with territorial expansion; for a discussion of these problems, see Richter and Merrell, *Beyond the Covenant Chain*.

59. ". . . of a Plan concerning the new states," Wilson Papers, 2:132, and "Notes from Mr. Wilson's Lectures by Joseph Hopkinson, 1791," in Joseph Hopkinson Papers, Manuscript Division, HSP; this lecture was delivered at the University of Pennsylvania. See also Geoffrey Seed, *James Wilson* (Millwood, NY: KTO Press, 1978).

60. *Pennsylvania Herald*, 18 August 1787.

61. Barry, *Mr. Rutledge*, 338 and chap. 3. See also Charles L. Mee, Jr., *The Genius of the People* (New York: Harper & Row Pub., 1987), 237. Rutledge's most recent biographer, Richard Barry, has reported that, according to family lore, Rutledge was deeply influenced by Iroquois political theory from the time of the Stamp Act. Unfortunately, most of his papers were destroyed in a house fire in the nineteenth century, so Barry can provide no documentation for this assertion. Rutledge probably consciously referred to some of the same points about American Indian government that Adams had discussed in his *Defence*; Jefferson had also corresponded with him regarding the vices of European governments and the virtues of American Indian governments (see Jefferson to Rutledge, 6 August 1787, in Boyd, *Papers of Jefferson*, 11:701).

62. "Propositions, Objections [etc.] in Debates on Adoption of the Constitution," in Wilson Papers, 2:61–68. The origin of these comments probably came from the discussion of American Indian governments in Adams's *Defence*. For an excellent treatment of Wilson's life, see Page Smith, *James Wilson: Founding Father, 1742–1798* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956).

63. *Charleston Columbian Herald*, 24 April 1788.

64. See Wilson to John Montgomery, Pittsburgh, 24 August 1775, in Smith, *Letters of Delegates*, 1:706, and Ford, *Journals*, 2:93. For an examination of the development of the concept of the Iroquois covenant chain, see Francis Jennings, "The Constitutional Evolution of the Covenant Chain," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 115:2(April 1971):88–96.

65. *American Museum* 2(December 1787):599.

66. See *Charleston Columbian Herald*, 3 July 1788. The "Unite or die" slogan was directly attributed to Franklin in a poem entitled "Union our Only Hope: A Federal Poem," which was published in *American Museum* 4(July 1788):193–95. The poem asserted that

> *Unite or Die — arouse or fall,*
> *Is rev'rend Franklin's dying call.*

67. *Columbian Magazine* 2:10(November 1788):578–82.

68. *American Museum* 5:1 and 2(January and February 1789).

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid. 5:1(January 1789):104, xvi, 88; and 5:3 (March 1789):285.

72. *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 9 January 1788; *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 1 February 1788; and Styrett, *Papers of Hamilton*, 4:593–94.

73. Styrett, *Papers of Hamilton*, 4:593–94. Fears of a strong executive or "monarchy" were expressed by delegates such as John T. Mercer of Maryland, who kept a list of those who "were for a king" (see Bernard C. Steiner, *The Life and Correspondence of James McHenry* [Cleveland: Burrows Bros. Co., 1907], 102. Jefferson wrote to Benjamin Hawkins during the Constitutional Convention [4 August 1787] that he was "astonished at some people's considering a kingly government" [see Boyd, *Papers of Jefferson*, 11:683–84]).

74. *New York Journal*, 23 July 1790.

75. Ibid. M'Gillvray was quite familiar with this rhetoric.

76. Quoted from *Augusta Chronicle and Gazette of the State*, 15 May 1790. See also Jernegan, "Tammany Societies of R.I.," vol. 8.

77. *New York Journal*, 10 August 1790.

78. Ibid. See also *Augusta Chronicle and Gazette of the State*, 15 May 1790; Jernegan, "Tammany Societies of R.I.," vol. 8; and *New York Journal*, 23 July 1790. At a 10 June 1787 conference with the Iroquois, M'Gillvray had heard the Iroquois refer to their confederacy as the "Grand Council" and the United States government as the "Grand Council of America." The Creeks replied to the Iroquois using the term "Great Council of the Americans." The Euro-Americans at the conference heard reports that the Creeks and the Iroquois intended to form "a strong chain of defence to save our lands, protect our wives, and rear our children, that they may long possess the inheritance we shall leave to them" (see *Georgia Gazette*, 27 November 1787). Apparently, the influence of the Sons of Saint Tammany was widespread by this time, as was knowledge of the symbols of the Iroquois and their relationship to the Constitution. At the 1790 Tammany Day celebration banquet on the banks of the Savannah River, twelve toasts were made to the United States (all but Rhode Island had joined the new union under the Constitution), as well as toasts to Tammany and M'Gillvray. The 150 people assembled toasted the new Constitution: "May the new fire we have kindled in peace never be extinguished in blood." In a reference to Rhode Island, the twelfth and final toast concluded in this manner: "May the Seminoleans of Rhode Island see their error, and no longer be styled wanderers" (ibid., 16 July 1790). Jefferson and Madison continued their interest in Native American ideas through their examination of Indian languages on Long Island, New York (see "Unquahog tribe, Puspatuck Settlement, Brookhaven, Long Island, N.Y. taken by Thomas Jefferson, June 13, 1791 in the presence of James Madison and General Wm. Floyd," in Indian Boxes, box 1, Manuscript Division, NYPL).

79. *New York Journal*, 10 August 1790.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid.

82. *Diary or Loudon's Register* [New York], 17 March 1792, in Library of Congress.

83. "Constitution and Roll of Members of Society of St. Tammany"; "So-

ciety of Saint Tammany, or Columbian Order, Manuscript Division, NYPL, 1-38. See also *Diary or Loudon's Register* [New York], 4 July 1792, in Library of Congress.

84. Edward J. Sheehan, comp., *Two Hundred Twenty-fifth Anniversary Program, Old Fort Hunter and Queen Anne Chapel at Fort Hunter, N.Y.* (St. Johnsville, NY: Press of the Enterprise and News, 1937), 4. For a more in-depth discussion of the Improved Order of Red Men, see George W. Lindsay, *Official History of the Improved Order of Red Men* (Boston: Fraternity Publishing Co., 1893); and Paul A. W. Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1961), 182.

85. See Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*, vol. 1, *The Fabrication of Ancient Greece, 1785–1985* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987).

86. *American Museum* 3:9 (September 1789): 544.

87. The Tammany society (with its use of Native American imagery) remained active in its original form so long as the primary North American diplomatic business of the United States was with American Indian nations (that is, until at least the end of the second Jefferson administration). As the revolutionary generation died, the organization began to decline into a corrupt society of bosses. For an analysis of the Sons of Saint Tammany's evolution into Tammany Hall, see Morris R. Werner, *Tammany Hall* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1928).

88. Mercy Otis Warren, *History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution*. 3 vols. (Boston: E. Larkin, 1805), 2:327.

89. Van Doren and Boyd, *Indian Treaties* (quoted from the introduction). See also Wallace to William N. Fenton, 8 September 1960, in Wallace Papers.

How short memories proved to be. The late eighteenth-century written promises that the old treaties would be observed "as long as the rivers run and the grass grows" could not have anticipated the day when toxic waste in what was left of the rivers would keep the grass from growing at all.

Washington and Jefferson got to know many Indian sachems in the course of their daily business. This was a time when native peoples still occupied most of the land assigned to the United States by the European-arranged peace of 1783. Washington's relationship with the Seneca sachem Cornplanter was exceptionally close; that is why this Iroquois sachem serves as a particularly good example of what happened to native peoples after the revolutionary generation passed away. His contributions were soon forgotten as a shroud of ignorance was called into the service of westward expansion.

The Senecas had supported the British during the Revolution and were, therefore, the target of scorched-earth raids by soldiers under Washington's command in 1779, which devastated corn fields that had produced an estimated million bushels a year (see Wallace, *Rebirth of the Seneca*). Most Senecas fled the carnage, some never to return, having built new villages in British Canada. Others, including Cornplanter, reconstructed their ancestral homes, replanted their fields, and attempted to reassemble their lives. Washington believed that a permanent military establishment bred tyranny; therefore, he all but dissolved the armed forces after the Revolution. This left no real powers of enforcement for treaty arrangements made between the new federal government and Indian nations. With sanctions virtually nonexistent, squatters overran Indian lands the length of the frontier, and the Allegheny Senecas continued occasionally to send war parties against encroaching whites. United States peace commissioners approached Cornplanter, who initially said he did not want to deal with representatives of a nation that had so much Seneca blood on its hands.

As time passed, however, Cornplanter relented, in part because good trade relations would help the Senecas rebuild. In fact, he became so friendly with President Washington that a substantial number of Senecas (led by Red Jacket) criticized him severely for giving up too much land in exchange for peace. Nevertheless, he became a sort of minister without portfolio for the United States during the 1780s and 1790s, journeying several times to the Ohio Valley to make peace after United States commissioners had failed.

Meeting with Washington during 1790, Cornplanter raised the criticism of his people: "We will not conceal from you that the Great God, and not men, has preserved the Cornplant's from the hands of this nation. . . . For they [the Senecas] ask continually, where is the land on which our children and their children after them are to lie down upon?" (Cited in George S. Snyderman, "Concepts of Land Ownership Among the Iroquois and Their Neighbors," in *Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture*, ed. William N. Fenton [Washington, DC: U.S. GPO, 1939], 17 [hereafter cited as *Symposium on Iroquois Culture*].)

Washington pledged that the Seneca would retain a sliver of land along the Allegheny River, a small fraction of their original holdings. "In the future, you will not be defrauded of your lands," Washington pledged to Cornplanter. "[Y]ou possess the right to sell, and the right of refusing to sell your lands" (James Ross Snowden, *The Cornplanter Memorial* [Harrisburg: Singerly & Myers, 1867], 99 [hereafter cited as *Cornplanter Memorial*]. Alvin Josephy has described the flooding of the Allegheny Seneca Reservation in more detail in *Now That All the Buffalo's Gone* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf., 1982].) The president's pledge was codified in the 1794 Pickering Treaty.

On 28 February 1797, Cornplanter again visited Philadelphia to confront Washington: "Turn our faces which way we will, we find white people cultivating the ground which our forefathers hunted over, and the forests which furnished them with plenty, now afford but a scanty subsistence to us, and our young men are not safe in pursuing it. . . . What will be the situation of our children when those calamities increase?" (see Snowden, *Cornplanter Memorial*, 109).

Washington must have felt some pain, unable to enforce the pledges he had made or restrain his own people. A believer in the rule of law, he confessed to Thomas Lear on 3 April 1791 that until "we can restrain the turbulence and disorderly conduct of our own borders, it will be in vain to expect peace with the Indians, or that they will govern their people better than we govern ours" (see Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, 31:267).

The eighteenth century came to a close without an answer to Cornplanter's question. In 1964 the bones of Cornplanter's people were removed from a cemetery on the Allegheny Reservation to make way for rising waters behind the Kinzua Dam, which flooded much of the tiny scrap of land the first president pledged to protect. It would be informative to know what Washington might have said to the engineers of the Army Corps who designed the dam, or to the Senecas who today wonder whether the first president asked Cornplanter if he knew how to swim.

90. Jefferson to John Rutledge, 6 August 1787, in Boyd, *Papers of Jefferson*, 11:701. Also Barry has reported that Rutledge mentioned the Iroquois at the Constitutional Convention (see *Mr. Rutledge*).

Chapter 11 — The Persistence of an Idea

1. Lewis Henry Morgan's invitation to Henry R. Schoolcraft to join the "Grand Order of the Iroquois," 10 April 1845, in Lewis Henry Morgan Papers, Special Collections, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester (hereafter cited as Morgan Papers).

2. J. A. Wheeler, "Is Physics Legislated by Cosmogony?" in *The Encyclopedia of Ignorance*, ed. Ronald and Miranda Weston-Smith (New York: Pergamon Press, 1977), 29-30.

3. Freneau's *National Gazette*, 5 April 1792.

4. See De Witt Clinton, "A Discourse [on the Six Nations] Delivered Before the New York Historical Society, at their Anniversary Meeting, 6th December, 1811" (New York: Van Winkle & Wiley, 1814), 50 (Early American Imprints, 2nd ser., no. 38779) (hereafter cited as "Discourse Before the New York Historical Society"). For a record of Clinton's membership in the Tammany society, see "Society of Sons of St. Tammany."

5. See William B. Campbell, ed., *The Life and Writings of De Witt Clinton* (New York: Baker & Scribner, 1849), passim (hereafter cited as *Life of Clinton*). Venables has stated that although the founders examined tribal governments such as the Iroquois Confederacy at the Constitutional Convention, they chose to embrace a government modeled after the Roman Empire: "In those Roman wars of conquest, the Founding Fathers' Northern European ancestors had played the role of the Indians. This time, the Founding Fathers were determined to be Romans" (see Venables, "Choosing to Be Romans," 31). However, his analysis does not include the possibility that some political leaders, Clinton among them, considered the Iroquois to be the Romans of North America rather than turning to the tribal people of Northern Europe two thousand years before. In the decade following Clinton's observations, Mrs. Francis Trollope, an English traveler, shared his perceptions of the Six Nations. They had a "senate," she reported, and "at several of their meetings . . . the power of their eloquence was evident from the great effect it produced among themselves." Trollope also hinted that the "civilizing" white man would do well to continue to take lessons from the "indigenous manners" of the American Indians (see *Domestic Manners of the Americans by Mrs. Francis Trollope*, ed. Donald Smalley [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949], 392).

6. Clinton, "Discourse Before the New York Historical Society," 16.

7. For an in-depth analysis of Tammany Hall (an outgrowth of the Tammany society), see Jerome Mushkat, *Tammany: The Evolution of a Political Machine, 1789–1865* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971). For the quotation of John C. Calhoun, see Richard K. Cralle, ed., *The Works of John C. Calhoun* (New York: Appleton & Co., 1851), 1:71–72. Calhoun, of course, had dealings with the Iroquois as secretary of war (see Calhoun to David Ogden, 14 May 1818, in Indian Boxes, no. 1, Manuscript Division, NYPL).

8. "Address to the New York State Historical Society, May 27, 1847," in Ely S. Parker Papers, reel 1, APS.

9. Morgan to Ely S. Parker, 8 May 1844, in Morgan Papers, University of Rochester.

10. Morgan to Schoolcraft, Rochester, N.Y., 12 May 1847, in ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Morgan to John Wesley Powell, North Scituate, 10 September 1880, BAE correspondence, NAA, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

14. Morgan to Powell, 22 September 1880, ibid.

15. Quoted in *Akwesasne Notes* 2:6(June 1970):24.

16. "Onondaga Indians," *Harper's Weekly*, 17 February 1872; included in this article is an excellent account of the "white dog sacrifice" as well as an illustration. For a brief account of Horatio Seymour's life, see Malone, *Dictionary*, vol. 9, part 1, 6–9.

17. Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier*, 4.

18. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "The Matriarchate or Mother-age" [address before the National Council of Women, February 1891], *National Bulletin* 1:5(February 1891):4 (hereafter cited as "Matriarchate").

19. Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier*, 110.

20. Exhibit, Yager Museum, Hartwick College, Oneonta, N.Y., June 1983.

21. See Lucien Carr, *The Social and Political Position of Women Among the Huron-Iroquois Tribes* (Salem, MA: Salem Press, 1884), 217–18; Martha C. Randle, "Iroquois Women, Then and Now," in Fenton, *Symposium on Iroquois Culture*; Judith K. Brown, "Economic Organization and the Position of Women Among the Iroquois," *Ethnohistory* 17:3–4 (Summer-Fall 1970):151–67.

22. "The Iroquois Gynocracy," in *The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes*, ed. James Axtell (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 150–53.

23. See "Law of the Woman Chief," J. N. B. Hewitt Collection, ms. 1586, NAA, Smithsonian Institution, Washington (hereafter cited as Hewitt Collection).

24. "The Law Decreeing that Land Belongs to Women," Hewitt Collection, ms. 471.

25. See "Woman Chief," Hewitt Collection.

26. *Pennsylvania Magazine or American Monthly Museum* 2(February 1776):96, APS.

27. Ibid., 97.

28. "Colonel Thomas Proctor's Journal," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d ser., 4:504–505.

29. Ibid., 505.

30. "Substance of the Speech of Good Peter to Governor Clinton and the Commissioners of Indian Affairs at Albany," *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, 1st ser., 2(1814):115.

31. Ford, *Writings of T. Jefferson*, 3:441. Jefferson also reported that birth control was used by Indian women: "[T]hey have fewer children than we do" and "have learned the practice of procuring abortion by use of some vegetable." He also noted that such abortion practices prevented "conception for a considerable time after" (ibid.).

32. John Kahionhes Fadden to Johansen, 14 June 1989, personal communication.

33. Rogers, *Account of North America*, 232-33.

34. Foner, *Writings of Paine*, 2:119-20.

35. Cameron, *Works of Samuel Peters*, 158.

36. *Syracuse Journal*, 10 January 1866.

37. Matilda Joslyn Gage, *Woman, Church and State* [1893] (Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1980), 10 (hereafter cited as *Woman, Church and State*); annotation supplied by Sally R. Wagner in ms. draft. See also Gail Landsman, "Portrayals of the Iroquois in the Woman Suffrage Movement" (Paper presented at the Annual Conference on Iroquois Research, Rensselaerville, NY, 8 October 1988, p. 8) (hereafter cited as "Iroquois in Suffrage Movement").

38. Landsman, "Iroquois in Suffrage Movement," 9. By using the word *mined*, Landsman may have overemphasized the importance of Child's book in conveying knowledge of the Iroquois to Gage and others. The historical record indicates that Gage and many other early feminists had extensive first-hand experience with the Iroquois.

39. Ibid., 10-11. Elizabeth Tooker has stated that the place of women's rights within the Iroquois Confederacy has been overstated: "Iroquois women —probably erroneously—have come to be regarded by so many as wielding exceptional power" (see Tooker, " Women in Iroquois Society," in *Extending the Rafters*, ed. Michael K. Foster, et al. [Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984], 110). Tooker has minimized the fact that Iroquois women were free of the economic shackles of Western traditions and has, instead, focused on their lack of private property. She has discounted the free and cooperative allocation of their labors in order to furnish childcare, household duties, and food for all according to the needs of the uterine or clan group. Iroquois women also produced and allocated agricultural products (corn, beans, and squash) with little or no dependence upon their husbands. Tooker's position has been that men's labor was needed to clear fields for planting and building houses; this ignores the fact that men provided this labor freely while women retained control over these areas. Unfortunately, Tooker has relied heavily upon anthropological opinion in her analysis (Morgan, Hewitt, Fenton, etc.) and has not examined the documentary evidence closely enough. For instance, she has overlooked references to the powers of Iroquois women in two articles in *Ethnohistory* edited by William N. Fenton: "The Journal of James Emlen Kept on a Trip to Canandaigua, New York" [12:4 (Fall 1965):306], and "Seneca Indians by Asher Wright" (4:3 [Summer 1957]:311-12). For other references to the sta-

tus of women in Iroquois society, see also "Halliday Jackson's Journal to the Seneca Indians, 1798–1800," ed. Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Pennsylvania History* 19:3 (July 1952):325–27, 337; "Colonel Proctor's Journal," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d ser., 4:505, 525; and Arthur C. Parker, "The Role of the Iroquois in the Science of Government," in A. Parker Papers, box 11–15 (see pp. 10–11).

In fact, Tooker has failed to deal effectively with the wealth of information to be found in Lafitau's description of Iroquois women (see Mary E. Fleming Mathur, "That a Woman's Work Is Never Done," *Indian Historian* 4:2 [Summer 1971]:12 [hereafter cited as "Woman's Work"]). She has ignored the more basic aspects of women's rights: divorce, menstrual seclusion, and freedom from violent sex crimes (which were, in fact, infrequent in Iroquois society). In "Women in Iroquois Society," she concludes with the statement that "the problems that Iroquois men and women had to confront were not those of contemporary western society" (p. 121). Marriage. family, childrearing, making a living, and the allocation of labor and resources were/are universal human endeavors, and it is instructive to examine the ways in which other societies and cultures approached and solved these problems. Mohawk anthropologist Mary E. Fleming Mathur has commented on reactions similar to Tooker's: "Just as many women doctors show less sympathy for their female patients than men, thus do women anthropologists regard their being forced to study women's occupations and roles as less than a satisfactory approach to their work" (see Mathur, "Woman's Work," 12).

40. Cited in Landsman, "Iroquois in Suffrage Movement," 11.

41. Sally R. Wagner, annotated manuscript [untitled], supplied to Johansen by author, November 1989, pp. 2–3. She has referred here to *History of Woman Suffrage*, ed. Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Matilda Joslyn Gage (Salem, NH: Ayer Co. Pub., 1985), 1:dedication page and 29.

42. Matilda Joslyn Gage to H. L. G[age], 11 December 1893, in Gage Papers (supplied to Johansen by Wagner, November 1989).

43. Stanton, "Matriarchate."

44. Ibid., 2.

45. Sally R. Wagner, "The Iroquois Confederacy: A Native American Model for Non-sexist Men," *Changing Men* (Spring-Summer 1988):32–33.

46. Ibid.

47. Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 213–14.

48. Sally R. Wagner to the authors, 1989, personal communication (in reference to her forthcoming work on American feminism and the Iroquois).

49. Robert C. Tucker, ed., *The Marx-Engels Reader* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1972), 335 (hereafter cited as *Marx-Engels Reader*).

50. Lewis Henry Morgan, *League of the Haudenosaunee, or Iroquois* [1851] (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1922), 3.

51. Skenandoah [Lewis Henry Morgan], "Letters on the Iroquois," *American Review: A Whig Journal* 26(February 1847):180–81.

52. Lewis Henry Morgan, *Ancient Society* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1877), 119.

53. Tucker, *Marx-Engels Reader*, 659.

54. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* (New York: International Pub. Co., New World Paperbacks, 1968), 528 (hereafter cited as *Selected Works*).

55. Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia*, 93; and Jefferson to Francis W. Gilmer, 7 June 1816, in Ford, *Writings of T. Jefferson*, 10:32–33. For examples cited earlier of the opinions of Franklin and Paine, see also Franklin's marginal notes in Allan Ramsay's *Thoughts on the Origin and Nature of Government*, cited in Lynd, *Intellectual Origins*, 85; and Foner, *Paine Writings*, 1:610.

56. Engels, "Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," in *Selected Works* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1968), 3:201.

57. Sally R. Wagner, "The Root of Oppression Is the Loss of Memory: The Iroquois and the Early Feminist Vision," *Akwesasne Notes* 21:1(Late Winter 1989):11 (hereafter cited as "Loss of Memory"). See also, Gage, *Woman, Church and State*, 246.

58. Gage, *Woman, Church and State*, 9.

59. Ibid., 10.

60. *New York Evening Post*, 24 September 1875, cited in Wagner, "Loss of Memory," 12.

61. Stanton, "Matriarchate," 1.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid., 7.

64. Sally R. Wagner to the authors, 1989, personal communication (in reference to her forthcoming work on American feminism and the Iroquois).

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid. See also *Albany Law Journal* 45:10(5 March 1892):199.

67. *Puck*, 16 May 1914.

68. "Indians of New York," *Utica Morning Herald*, 9 May 1894.

69. "The Six Nations," in *Encyclopedia Americana* (1896), vol. 14 (copy in Hewitt Papers).

70. *Washington Star*, 4 April 1932.

71. John Collier, *The Indians of the Americas* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1947), 117–21; John Collier to Charles Collier, 12 November 1941, John Collier Papers, reel 25, no. 441, Yale University Library.

72. Matthew W. Stirling, "America's First Settlers, the Indians," *National Geographic Magazine* 72:5(November 1937). Stirling was head of the Bureau of American Ethnology during the years that William N. Fenton worked there.

73. *Washington Post*, 7 February 1950.

74. *Tulsa Daily World*, 31 July 1949.

75. "Press Release, Smithsonian Institution, Thursday November 5, 1953," in Fenton Papers, ms. 20, box entitled "Correspondence relating to publications, 1935–1957."

76. Cohen, "Americanizing," 179–80. Cohen's essay has been cited at length in Johansen, *Forgotten Founders*, 13–15.

77. See Mildred F. Garlow, "Demarcation of the Five Nation Confederic Democracy—*Novus Ordo Seclorum*," 10 August 1959, in Fenton Papers, letterbox entitled "Letters from the Iroquois," ms. 20.

78. "Open Letter, by Mildred Garlow to Representative E. D. O'Sullivan,

1952,'' ibid. Donald A. Grinde, Jr. encountered the Iroquois oral tradition regarding the Haudenosaunee roots of American democracy through conversations with Elizabeth Salmieri, 13-14 February 1974. Salmieri (Cayuga) was then working on a history of the Cayuga. Subsequent conversations with John and Ray Fadden (Mohawk) also reinforced Grinde's awareness of the extent of this oral tradition among the Iroquois.

79. ''Haudenosaunee Statement to the World,'' *Akwesasne Notes* 11(May 1979):7.

80. For quote, see Jacobs, *Dispossessing the Indian*, 168–70. For some further discussion of this matter, see William Brandon, *The American Heritage Book of Indians* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1969), 127–39.

81. Vine Deloria, Jr., ''Revision and Reversion,'' in Martin, *Problem of History*, 85. Indeed, Neal Salisbury has noted that stereotypes of ''heathen'' savages and ''civilized'' Christians are still very much with us in current academic discourse, although he seemed to be surprised that such stereotypes have persisted ''among contemporary scholars supposedly emancipated from the religious and racial superstitions of the past.''

> For while the convention of distinguishing Indians and whites as two different species of humanity is largely outmoded, a vestige of it survives in the assumption that Indians have not participated in ''history,'' except in their encounters with the whites who actually ''made'' that history (see Salisbury, ''American Indians and American History,'' in Martin, *Problem of History*, 46).

Of course, as time passes, approaches to history once dismissed as ''revisionist'' may gain acceptance; this seems to be the case with the idea that Native American political systems helped shape the official form of democracy in the United States. For instance, this idea has begun to pop up in educational materials for young people (see, for example, Ira Peck, ''The People of the Longhouse,'' *Junior Scholastic* [21 October 1988]:12–14). See also Theodore Lowi et al., *American Government: Freedom and Power* (New York: . W. W. Norton & Co., 1990), 68; Adrian Seaborne and David Evans, *Canada and its Pacific Neighbors* (Regina, Sask.: Weigl, 1988); and Janet Flamang et al., *American Politics in a Changing World* (Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1990).

82. John Dos Passos, *The Ground We Stand On* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1941), 294.

83. Richard B. Morris, *The Emerging Nations and the American Revolution* (New York: Harper & Row Pub., 1970), 82–83 (hereafter cited as *Emerging Nations*). Simon Bolivar was aware of the mestizo character of peoples in the Americas: ''We are, moreover, neither Indian nor European, but a species midway between the legitimate proprietors of this country and the Spanish usurpers.'' Bolivar did not analyze democratic thought's native origins, however; in the very next sentence, he wrote, ''Though Americans by birth, we derive our rights from Europe.'' See ''The Jamaica Letter,'' in *The Political Thought of Bolivar: Selected Writings*, ed. Gerald E. Fitzgerald (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971), 33.

84. Morris, *Emerging Nations*, 74-75.

85. David Halberstam, *Ho* (New York: Random House, 1971), 74.

86. Bernard Fall, ed., *Ho Chi Minh on Revolution: Selected Writings*, 1920-1966 (New York: Praeger Pub., 1967), 143.

Chapter 12 — Conclusion

1. Campbell, *Writings of Clinton*, 210.

2. Adams, *Works of Adams*, 4:296. Elisabeth Tooker has used this statement by Adams (that the British Constitution was more desirable as a model than were American Indian governments) in her attempt to refute any notion that Indians had any impact on the development of the Constitution of the United States (see Tooker, "Rejoinder to Johansen," *Ethnohistory* 37:3[Summer 1990]: 291 [hereafter cited as "Rejoinder"]). She has conveniently omitted the second paragraph, which qualifies this statement, and thus has ignored Adams's admonition to obtain an "accurate investigation of the form of government of the ancient Germans and the modern Indians." In addition, she has stated (without providing any insight into how she arrived at this assumption) that the "Indians did not have the system of government Adams seems to suppose they did" (ibid., 291); in fact, the historical record shows that Adams knew some very basic things about American Indian governments, specifically the Iroquois. For instance, he knew about the "fifty families" of the Iroquois long before Lewis Henry Morgan studied them, the fundamental structures of the Iroquois Confederacy, as well as the role of the White Dog Sacrifice (without so naming it) in the preparations for war (see Adams, *Defence*, 4:511, 566, 567).

Tooker herself has acknowledged that the "key to the structure of the League is the Roll Call of the Chiefs," and the "fifty name-titles on the Roll Call of the Chiefs" (see "U.S. Constitution," 331). Since Adams referred to the "fifty families" rather casually and frequently in *Defence*, one could infer that he believed such knowledge of the Iroquois to be commonplace. Tooker, however, has continued to credit Morgan with the "discovery" of the Roll Call with "fifty positions" lodged in a clan or kinship-oriented chieftainship system. Morgan's work, therefore, is validated (she claims), since subsequent ethnographers have independently documented similar findings. One could, of course, argue that Adams's "discovery" of the fifty families of the Iroquois validated *his* knowledge several generations before Morgan's work. See "White Dog Sacrifice" for Tooker's speculations on the earliest Euro-American record of this ceremony; she has not included any reference to Adams's observations. William N. Fenton also believes that the key to understanding the Iroquois Confederacy is a knowledge of the fifty sachemships, but he is oblivious to the knowledge that John Adams had of the Iroquois. He credits the "discovery" of the fifty sachemships to Lewis Henry Morgan. (See "Williamsburg Conference . . . Challenges Confederacy," *Akwesasne Notes* 21:2 [Spring 1989].) If the basic structure of the League of the Iroquois was common knowledge in the eighteenth century, should not scholars reassess Morgan's role (as well as anthropology's) in the development of our understanding of the Iroquois?

Tooker's penchant for ignoring new evidence in the debate over Native American influence upon American government was evident in her 1988 article on this controversy. Here she advances the thesis that no documentary evidence exists to support the contention that Iroquois government played a role in the evolution of American government after 1775 (see "U.S. Constitution," 310). She has concentrated, instead, on the notion of the "image" of the American Indian, since she has insisted that it was not until the development of modern anthropology under Morgan that "an account of the Iroquois form of government" became available (ibid., 310-11). She has concluded that if Johansen is correct in his assertion that the founders' perceptions of Indian society were important, then "our debt is not to the Indians but to the images" (Tooker, "Rejoinder," 29). Moreover, she includes a statement that John Locke was an "honorary founding father of the United States" as though it were conventional wisdom, without even bothering to cite her source for this assertion (ibid., 306). Tooker has chosen not to address the fact that the Constitution was toasted in 1790 by John Jay, Jefferson, and others as "our tree of peace," which sheltered them "with its branches of union" (see *New York Journal*, 10 August 1790). Similarly, she has refused to comment on the presence of the Iroquois at the Continental Congress during the debates on independence as the delegates desperately sought an alternative to the tyranny of the British monarchy, nor has she acknowledged that many delegates believed that a declaration of independence would return them to a "natural state" (see Ford, *Journals*, 5:430-31). Her response to the historical record has been to complain about "so little evidence" to support the idea that native America influenced the evolution of American government (see Tooker, "Rejoinder," 291).

Rather than examining references to American Indian governments and their various rites in Adams's discourse, Tooker has concluded that Franklin and Jefferson "saw the Indian through Locke's eyes, not through Indian eyes" ("Rejoinder," 294); however, when we check her sources for this statement, none are found. We are asked to believe that the "pragmatic" Franklin and the Indian linguistic scholar, Jefferson, gathered all their ideas about American Indians through reading the works of Locke. Adams, however, was critical of European writings on American Indians, especially those of the "honorary founding father," Locke (see *Works of Locke*, 9:175-99 for a copy of the "Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina," and Adams, *Works of Adams*, 4:463-64, 292-96, 566-67, 587; 5:490-96, for Adams's scathing criticism of it.). Perhaps Tooker is dealing with an "image" of Locke in the mind of Adams. One could conclude that Locke was not an "honorary founding father" and had no influence on the United States Constitution, because the historical record indicates that Adams examined his ideas only to discount them; Tooker has completely ignored Adams's critical appraisal of the knowledge of European writers on Indian topics (see ibid.), as well as Jefferson's disdain for European portrayals of American Indians (see his *Notes on Virginia*, in Ford, *Works of Jefferson*, 3:454-

58 and 494–504). She has not acknowledged that he sought information from the Creek chief, Alexander M'Gillvray (see Boyd, *Papers of Jefferson*, 11:414), or that he spent a great deal of time in his youth with American Indians (see Cappon, *Adams-Jefferson Letters*, 2:307). Jefferson was also highly critical of James Adair and Lafitau's writings on American Indians (ibid., 305–306). Tooker has made no mention of the fact that Franklin printed Indian treaties or that some scholars have asserted that Franklin "got his ideas" for the Albany Plan "from the Iroquois" (see Boyd, "Dr. Franklin," 239).

Finally, Tooker's analysis of the period from the Albany Plan to the Constitution has ignored much of the "established" scholarship on the period. For instance, Jack P. Greene has observed that colonial efforts to unify were important precedents for the development of the United States Constitution (see *Peripheries and Center*, ix). In this study, Greene examined the evolving "structures and theories of constitutional organization in the extended polities of both the early British Empire and the revolutionary United States between the founding of Virginia in 1607 and the adoption of the federal Constitution in 1788" (ibid.). Greene has stated that the search for "national union" was a "persistent concern for British Americans"; it provided "an underlying unity to early American Constitutional history from the colonial through the early national periods" (ibid., 3). Tooker disagrees with Greene's perceptive work by asserting that "only after the success of the Revolution could the various earlier plans of union be seen as forerunners of the federal union (see "U.S. Constitution," 331.)

Tooker's assumptions have clearly colored her perceptions of Canassatego's speech of 1744, the Albany Plan, and the Articles of Confederation, as well as the ways in which these events affected the founders in their search for unity and a distinct American government.

3. James H. Hutson, "Riddles of the Constitutional Convention," *William and Mary Quarterly* 44:3 (July 1987):411 (hereafter cited as "Riddles").

4. Fritz F. Heinmann and Hugh E. Kelso, "Politics and the Constitution—a Dual Review," *Iowa Law Review* 39(1953):139, cited in Hutson, "Riddles," 413.

5. Hutson, "Riddles," 420.

6. *Charleston Columbia Herald*, 9 June 1788.

7. Hutson, "Riddles," 422.

8. For the "Albany Papers," see *American Museum* 5:1(January 1789) and 5:2(February 1789).

9. Thomas Jefferson to John Rutledge, Paris, 6 August 1787, in Boyd, *Papers of Jefferson*, 11:701.

10. See Charles S. Syndnor, *Gentlemen Freeholders: Political Practices in Washington's Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952), 120.

11. Ibid., 27, 123.

12. Ibid., 26.

13. Thomas Jefferson to John Rutledge, Paris, 6 August 1787, in Boyd, *Papers of Jefferson*, 11:701.

14. William Samuel Johnson to unknown correspondent, August 1804, Wil-

liam Samuel Johnson Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford (hereafter cited as Johnson Papers); also cited in Hutson, "Riddles," 418.

15. Hutson, "Riddles," 421.

16. William Samuel Johnson to unknown correspondent, August 1804, in Johnson Papers (cited in Hutson, "Riddles," 420). Charles Pinckney of South Carolina concurred with Johnson and seemed to reject European precedents in creating a new American government when he observed that

> all European Republics were extremely limited in size and that We know none a tenth as large as the United States. Indeed, we are hardly able to determine . . . whether the governments we have heard of under the name of republic really deserved them, or whether the ancients had any just or proper ideas on the subject (see *Charleston Columbian Herald*, 9 June 1788).

17. The evolution of the Great Seal can be determined from an examination of the following documents: Ford, *Journals*, 5:517–18, 689–91, and 22:338–40; Boyd, *Papers of Jefferson*, 1:497n; Edmund C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1921–36), 5:149n; Charles Thomson to William Barton, 24 June 1782, ibid., 6:374, and note by William Barton, n.d., ibid., 6:374n–375n. For the committee reports and Thomson's work on the Great Seal, see Continental Congress, M247, roll 31, item no. 23. For a discussion of Thomson's role in the development of the Great Seal, see Gaillard Hunt, *The History of the Great Seal of the United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. GPO, 1909), 33–37.

18. Herbert J. Storing, ed., *The Complete Anti-Federalist*. 7 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), cited in Hutson, "Riddles," 422.

19. *Columbian Magazine* 2:3(March 1788):136. It is interesting to note here that Robert Venables concluded that the founders (although he cites only Madison and Adams) examined the political institutions of American Indians when framing the Constitution but "were far more interested in classical Greece and Rome" (see "Choosing to Be Romans," 52). He has reported that they saw their era "in the historical perspective of Ancient Greece and Rome." Two thousand years earlier the Romans had vanquished the "tribal peoples of Northern Europe"; in that historical period the ancestors of the framers of the Constitution "had played the role of the Indians." Therefore (according to Venables) American Indian ideas were rejected because the "Founding Fathers were determined to be the Romans" this time around; in fact, the Romans were a better model because they "possessed a greater unity" than American Indian confederacies (ibid.). Venables has failed to mention the fact that Thomson called the Iroquois "Romans" in 1788, or that in 1811 De Witt Clinton characterized the Iroquois as the "Romans of this western world, who composed a federal Republic" (see Campbell, *Writings of Clinton*, 210). In fact, Clinton returned repeatedly to this analogy in his writings on the Iroquois (see ibid., 217–18, 237, 241, 265). To compound his error, Venables also asserted that in 1787 "some of the American Indians north of the Ohio were attempting to unify

under a new confederation'' (see ''Choosing to Be Romans,'' 52), and has presented little evidence that this ''new confederacy was unable to convince'' the Iroquois ''to join it'' (ibid., 52). Actually, accounts by American Indian leaders such as M'Gillvray substantiate just the opposite and demonstrate that the Iroquois and other northern nations were in contact with the Iroquois Grand Council. Moreover, they verify that the Iroquois Grand Council worked diligently to create a large American Indian confederacy, which would have formed a barrier from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. M'Gillvray reported that on 10 June 1787, a wampum belt of ''amity'' from twenty-four Indian ''nations'' was delivered to the the Creek Nation by ''a deputation of Mowhawks, Iroquois, Hurons, Oneidas, and Shawanese'' (''Extract of a Letter from Col. Alexander M'Gillvray, Chief of the Creek Indians, June 30, 1787,'' *Georgia Gazette*, 27 November 1787). The record indicates that the Iroquois delegation was favorably received by the Creeks and that they had created a ''friendly league of all the Red Nations to defend their lands and families'' (ibid.).

20. Ibid.

21. Tooker, ''Rejoinder,'' 291. When examining the development of American government, the authors do not want to portray Indians as ''victims'' or ''obstacles,'' or view them as a distinct species with a separate historical experience. What we wish to do is write what James Axtell has called ''a mutual history of continuous interaction and influence'' (see James Axtell, ''Colonial America Without the Indians: Counterfactual Reflections,'' *Journal of American History* 73:4[March 1987]:981).

22. For further discussion on this debate from the viewpoint of Iroquois scholarly tradition, see Tooker, ''U.S. Constitution,'' 325-26; she has not, however, addressed the question of the oral tradition of the Iroquois regarding the influence of Native American ideas on the development of United States government after the American Revolution.

23. The first official census of the population of the United States (1790) contained many inconsistencies and errors; therefore, the figures cited here are estimates. For statistics of all races (white, Negro—free and slave—and others), see *Sixth Census of the United States: 1840, Compendium* (Washington, DC: Blair & Rives, 1841), 96-98, 366-71; for total population figures by race, see also the ninth census. For a critical analysis of United States historical statistics and classification by race, see Bureau of Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition* (Washington, DC: U.S. GPO, 1975), part 1, 4.

24. Jefferson to Adams, Monticello, 11 June 1812, in Cappon, *Adams-Jefferson Letters*, 2:307. For James Wilson's analysis of the impact of the visit by the Iroquois to Independence Hall in Philadelphia during May and June 1776, see Ford, *Journals*, 5:430 and 6:1078. For further examples of an American Indian presence at Independence Hall before, during, and after the drafting of the Declaration of Independence, see *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 29 May 1776, and Benjamin Rush's notes in Smith, *Letters of Delegates*, 5:577-78 and 4:99, 281.

25. See Jefferson to Adams, Monticello, 11 June 1812, in Cappon, *Adams-Jefferson Letters*, 2:307. See also Tooker, ''Rejoinder,'' 291.

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